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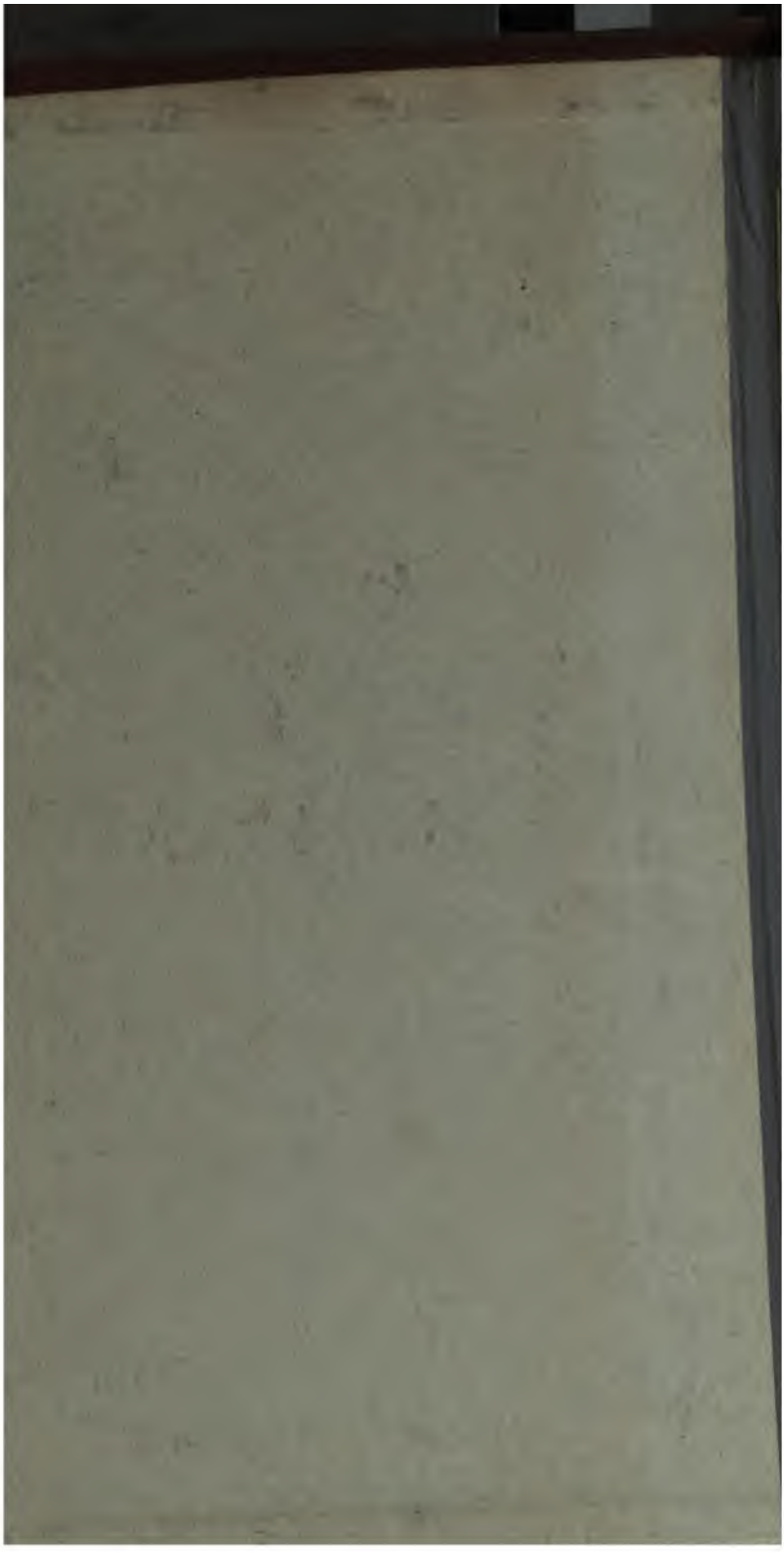
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Voyages and travels — Collections 17

A NEW COLLECTION OF VOYAGES, DISCOVERIES and TRAVELS:

CONTAINING

Whatever is worthy of Notice, in

EUROPE, ASIA,

AFRICA and AMERICA:

IN RESPECT TO

The Situation and Extent of Empires, Kingdoms, and Provinces; their Climates, Soil, Produce, &c.

WITH

The Manners and Customs of the several Inhabitants; their Government, Religion, Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Commerce.

The whole consisting of such ENGLISH and FOREIGN Authors as are in most Esteem; including the Descriptions and Remarks of some late celebrated Travellers, not to be found in any other Collection.

Illustrated with a Variety of accurate

MAPS, PLANS, and elegant ENGRAVINGS.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for J. KNOX, near Southampton-Street, in the Strand. MDCCLXVII.

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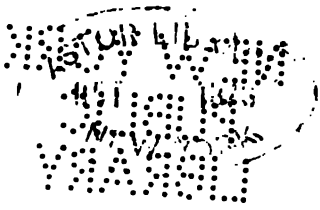
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PREFACE.

FEW books are more pleaſing or inſtructive than thoſe which contain accounts of travels or voyages, into diſtant countries. But at the ſame time, no writers ſeem more incapable of deſcribing what they ſee, or more liable to be impoſed upon by others, than many of thoſe to whom we owe productions of this nature. The lot of viſiting foreign climates, or traverſing ſavage lands, has generally fallen to the avaritious or the devout, men whoſe views were contracted by gain, or blinded by ſuperſtition: thus, though in general they tell us what they have obſerved, their accounts are mixed with inſtances of groſs ignorance, or miſtaken zeal. We generally find their productions loaded with minute and unintereſting tranſactions, falſe miracles, nautical remarks, or tedious diaries, which fatigue the reader and repreſs curioſity.

The being acquainted with the world from books of this kind, thus becoming a taſk almoſt as difficult as viſiting in perſon the places they deſcribe; and the numbers of ſuch books ſtill increaſing the difficulty, it was by many thought adviſeable to reduce the number, and retrench the abſurdities of ſuch works by compilation. To this we owe the many *Collections* of voyages and travels that have been publiſhed at different times among us, all profeſſing to afford the reader

the greateſt pleaſure in the ſmalleſt compaſs, the greateſt benefits at the ſmalleſt expence.

The three moſt conſiderable collections of this kind are Purchaſe's Pilgrims, Churchill's, and Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels. As to *Purchaſe*, it was collected at a time when the natural hiſtory of nations was yet but in its infancy, and conſequently his books are filled with all the folly and credulity of thoſe who were deceived themſelves, or with the groſs falſehood of ſuch as ſtrove to acquire reputation by deceiving others.

Churchill, excluſive of the ſize and price (it conſiſting of no leſs than eight folio volumes) has but little advantage of the former; he has given place to much lumber, for it ſeemed a maxim with him to reject nothing.

The former obſervations are in a great meaſure applicable to the collection by Dr. Harris. Many of the articles given in his work are very old, delivered in very bad language, and in many inſtances of doubtful authenticity. Hence this, as well as the two former, is now purchaſed rather from motives of curioſity than pleaſure, rather by the antiquary than the modern reader. The ſucceſs of theſe works (for with all their faults they were found to be uſeful, and conſequently were well received by the public) has produced many ſmaller abridgments, which have appeared at different times and in various ſizes. It is ſcarce neceſſary to remark on theſe, that they are but little known, and after their firſt publication little called for. The views of the publiſhers being merely lucrative, they have been compiled with ſo little judgment, and printed with

with ſo little care, that they may juſtly be conſidered and ranked among the number of thoſe works which are merely calculated to pleaſe the vulgar. Some of theſe compilations therefore, though promiſing in the title the contents of a folio, are too ſmall to afford much entertainment to the diſappointed purchaſer.

To mix profit with delight ſhould be the aim of all writers, and the buſineſs of every book: and nothing can contribute more to theſe valuable ends than a judicious work of this nature, in which we can travel to the moſt diſtant corners of the world, without ſtirring from our cloſets, chooſe the moſt entertaining route, embark with the moſt agreeable companions, view remote cities and their governments, extend our acquaintance through all the nations of the globe, and intereſt ourſelves in a ſucceſſion of incidents and adventures, that at once improve the mind and delight the imagination.

Theſe purpoſes, we apprehend, have not been fully anſwered in the voluminous collections which have hitherto appeared in our language; the ſize and price of a folio are ſufficient to intimidate an ordinary reader from purchaſing the work, or peruſing its contents. And what we obſerved in regard to travels is equally applicable to the numerous accounts of voyages that have obtained a place in even the beſt compilations. They are generally ſo ſtuffed with dry deſcriptions of bearings and diſtances, tides and currents, variations of the compaſs, leeward, wind and weather, ſounding, anchoring, and other terms of navigation, that none but mere pilots, or ſeafaring people, can read

them without diſguſt. In a word, they are filled with ſuch remarks as may be very uſeful in a ſea-journal, to juſtify the conduct of the mariners to their owners, but which in a general view furniſh few articles of uſeful information or entertainment.

From theſe conſiderations, and from a mature conviction that a compilation of this kind might be rendered more authentic and uſeful than any hitherto publiſhed, we have been induced to offer a New Collection of Voyages and Travels to the public, to whoſe candor the principles on which the preſent undertaking has been framed, are here ſubmitted. Our wiſhes were to preſent the reader with an account of the ſeveral countries of the world, and their inhabitants; the natural hiſtory of each kingdom, and of the rivers or ſeas which divide kingdoms from each other. In ſhort, to give ſuch a deſcription of the Globe which we inhabit as at once might be conciſe, yet comprehenſive, as might catch the fancy while it improved the underſtanding; and we may venture to ſay, that he who has made a proper uſe of this work will ſcarce want any other aſſiſtance to complete his ſkill in geography, as far at leaſt as it is unconnected with aſtronomy or mathematical calculations.

In order to this, great care was to be taken in the ſelecting of proper guides. And even in ſome of the beſt, the caution was to be uſed of not implicitly following them into error or abſurdities.

In the arrangement of the materials, we have brought together the different accounts of each country into one view, though they may have been

been made at very diſtant periods; and when there was an opportunity of choice among writers on the ſame nation, the lateſt viſitors have generally been preferred, as likely to give the leaſt fallacious information.

This collection admitted of a natural diviſion into two capital parts, namely, thoſe who viſited the coaſts only, and of thoſe who travelled through the interior countries. In the *Voyages*, which form the firſt part of this work, the reader will find a true picture of naval viciſſitudes and dangers. The courſes purſued by veſſels from one country to another, their ſhipwrecks and eſcapes. Here will be found deſcriptions of the ſeveral coaſts, bays, rivers and harbours, with ſuch accounts of the inhabitants as a curſory acquaintance could ſupply.

The latter part of this work conſiſts of *Travels* only, and exhibits the interior parts. The accounts of theſe contain a more minute detail of the natural hiſtory of each country, its monuments of antiquity, its government, religion, commerce, manners, and ſpirit of thinking. The whole given not with the dry and diſguſting prolixity of a geographer, but for the moſt part in the language of the travellers themſelves; a language in ſome inſtances rude indeed, but energetic, expreſſive of the feelings of men acquainted with fatigue and with danger. Nor will it be one of the ſmalleſt advantages of this work, that we have ſcarce any where omitted the hazard, the calamities, the hair-breadth eſcapes, which theſe bold men have endured and ſurmounted. Theſe accounts intereſt us as we read; we travel on with the pilgrim; fear for his

diſtreſſes, and exult in his deliverance and ſatiſfaction.

From this method it is hoped that we have united the two great aims of every writer, inſtruction and amuſement. While the reader is only purſuing his entertainment, he will here find himſelf deceived into ſcience, and that with as great certainty as if he had ſpent his time in making himſelf maſter of the moſt voluminous ſyſtem of geography. Here will be found what ſuch ſcientific works offer, but without their diſguſting dryneſs. A connected ſyſtem is not therefore to be expected under this form; but that nothing ſhould be wanting to this purpoſe, the whole work is introduced by a familiar compendium of geography, as it is neceſſary to know ſomething of the uſual diviſions of the Globe, its circles and its points, before we enter into its more minute diſcriminations.

In purſuance of this plan, the firſt volume contains, beſides the compendium of geography above mentioned, the firſt diſcovery of America, by Columbus, beginning with him as his voyages are the firſt in order of time, which merit regard, and have occaſioned alſo ſo great an alteration in the commercial ſyſtem of Europe. This diſcovery naturally leads us to conſider Spaniſh America, and to give an account of the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, under Pizarro and Cortez. To this more antient ſtate of thoſe countries, we have added Ulloa's moſt modern account, ſo that we ſee with preciſion what alterations theſe extenſive countries have underwent ſince they came under the dominion of Spain. The volume concludes with

with a view of the policy which regulates the trade between Old Spain and its colonies; containing ſome curious particulars not generally known.

In the ſecond volume we give in Nieuhoff's Voyage to the Brazil, an account of the Portugueſe ſettlement there, enlarged by ſome further particulars of later date. Then follows a memoir concerning the Jeſuits in Paraguay, and directing our courſe northward, we cloſe what relates to the Portugueſe and Spaniſh poſſeſſions on the continent by Wafer's deſcription of the Iſthmus of Darien. Still ſteering to the north, the Britiſh dominions in that country claim our principal attention. We have therefore, from the lateſt information, given a connected view of the Britiſh ſettlements from Florida to Newfoundland; and have alſo added a deſcription of the American Iſlands, to whatever nation they belong, in which their reſpective products and articles of trade have been eſpecially regarded. For many of the particulars relating to the Indians and inland parts of this extenſive empire, we are obliged to major Rogers, col. Bouquet, and governor Pownal; theſe are the guides we have taken, in preference to the French deſcriptions of theſe countries, which, upon many accounts, are more liable to ſuſpicion. If we have extended a little in this part of the work, it is hoped that the intereſt every Briton has in the countries deſcribed will be a ſufficient apology. Nor is this the only objection we have to fear in this part of the work. It may be urged, that as the continent of North America is ſo very extenſive backwards, what we have in this place

given

given from Wafer, Rogers and Bouquet, relating to the interior parts, belong rather to the department of travellers. We acknowlege the objection, and only have to anſwer, that we have always ſacrificed method to perſpicuity, and in this inſtance have rather given the whole of the accounts of the new world under one view, than perplexed the reader by partial and ſeparate information.

Having thus, as far as our deſign admitted, exhauſted the deſcription of the New World, we next proceed to the firſt diſcovery of the Eaſt Indies by the Portugueſe, and in an introduction to De Gama's Voyage, have traced the ſeveral progreſſive attempts which led to the doubling the Cape of Good-Hope. After De Gama's, we have, as a curioſity, given the firſt voyage to theſe parts, undertaken by the Engliſh on account of the Eaſt India company. Then follows a Voyage to the Cape Verd Iſlands, Kolbein's accurate account of the Cape of Good-Hope, and Nieuhoff's Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, in which is introduced a faithful narrative of the cruelties practiſed by the Dutch on the Engliſh at Amboyna. The volume cloſes with a ſhort view of the Engliſh ſettlements and trade in theſe parts of the world.

Having now given the completeſt accounts that could be obtained from the preceding method, of the weſtern and eaſtern navigations; the third volume is appropriated to the circumnavigators of the Globe: Men whoſe attempts were great, and diſtreſſes ſurpriſing, but who, with an unſpeakable fortitude, ſurmounted all, and returned to enrich their native country by their

their wealth and their diſcoveries. Of theſe we have ſelected Drake, Dampier, Woodes Rogers, and eſpecially Anſon; ſince the voyage of the latter, whether we conſider the authenticity of his matter, or the elegant manner in which it is related, may be conſidered as the moſt valuable publication of the kind.

With the circumnavigators, we cloſe the firſt diviſion of this collection, which conſiſts of voyages: in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth volumes, we have given the relations of the moſt approved travellers through Europe, Africa and Aſia; beginning at the north of Europe, and advancing ſouthward and eaſtward, as far as their journies could be extended by land. Where theſe have been tedious, too minute or diſguſtingly dry, we have taken the liberty to retrench them. On the contrary, where any have been ſuperficial or negligent, we have taken the liberty of improving their accounts by inſerting paſſages from others. Thus, Keyſler, for inſtance, who is reckoned one of the moſt faithful deſcribers of Europe, is at the ſame time ſo prolix, that we have in many places curtailed his too minute deſcriptions of unintereſting objects, which has afforded an opportunity of engrafting in proper places, from later writers, ſome of the moſt judicious remarks on the living manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants of various countries, that have appeared in any language. Wherever we have availed ourſelves of the obſervations of theſe writers, the obligation is in every inſtance acknowleged.

After traverſing ſo many foreign countries, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion to have overlooked our own, and like ſome miniſters,

too

too much employed in foreign conqueſts, leave our native dominions unregarded. In other countries we had, perhaps, ſcenes of natural beauty, luxuriant ſoils, and happy climates to deſcribe; but in Britain we chiefly confined ourſelves to what makes the happineſs of the people, ſtill ſuperior to that derived from ſuch advantages, namely, the government of the country, its conſtitution and excellent laws. It is theſe which make Great Britain the delight, the envy and the miſtreſs of the world; and in this part of our undertaking, it would be ungenerous not to own our obligations to the learned Dr. Blackſtone, whoſe commentary on the laws of England affords the moſt accurate and clear idea of the Britiſh conſtitution; and in ſome meaſure does what had been deſpaired of by others, reconciles law and philoſophy.

Having deſcribed our interior government and laws, it was thought a neceſſary concluſion to this work to exhibit a ſhort hiſtorical view of our naval tranſactions from the time when our navy became reſpectable by the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, to the end of the late ſucceſsful war. Nor will this be ſo foreign from our principal deſign, as may appear on a tranſient glance: for in this we ſhall ſee the effect of wiſe regulations on land powerfully operating on the ocean, we ſhall ſee how far a juſt policy at home is capable of rendering us formidable in every part abroad.

This, it is hoped, will ſuffice (nor could leſs have been ſufficient) to give the reader a previous idea of the nature of the collection here put into his hands; of the labour this work hath coſt,

of

of the many volumes we have been obliged to wade through, and which were to be read, though they were at length to be rejected. Men not verſed in ſtudies of this kind are apt to overlook a collector's aſſiduity, and deſpiſe his care; yet it is neceſſary, both for the improvement and entertainment of mankind, that there ſhould be ſuch writers, men of ſtudious application and humble aims, willing to promote knowlege without being known, and to ſmooth the way to victories which they are not to ſhare. The pains we have been at is unneceſſary to be inſiſted on; the expence which this work has coſt is obvious. It was our deſign to make ſuch a collection as would afford at once the utility of a geographical ſyſtem, and the amuſement of itinerary adventures: to offer nothing of our own but what was neceſſary to connect the materials, and to give nothing from any other but what might be depended upon as true. While there are readers willing to acquire knowlege without pain, and entertainment without interruption, a work of this kind muſt be uſeful. And this we may venture to ſay, that we undertook the taſk not becauſe we thought that the work was likely to ſell, but becauſe we knew it was wanting.

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A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO A GENERAL KNOWLEGE of the EARTH, AND THE FIRST PRINCIPLES of GEOGRAPHY.

BEFORE we deſcend to the doctrine of the Earth and its affections, it will not be impertinent to premiſe a ſummary view of the Solar ſyſtem of which it is a part: as the ſeveral particulars comprehended under the term Geography, cannot be adequately underſtood, without attending to the conſideration of the Earth as a planet; which will account for ſeveral principles that muſt elſe be received implicitly, without underſtanding the cauſes from which they are to be deduced.

The moſt conſpicuous celeſtial object which attracts our notice, is that glorious luminary the Sun; the parent of light and heat to thoſe ſeveral bodies which moving round it in regular orbits * and ſtated periods, from weſt to eaſt, conſtitute that family of Planets denominated the Solar ſyſtem.

* By the orbit of a planet is to be underſtood that path it deſcribes in ſpace round the Sun; whoſe attraction combining with the planet's projectile force, (which tends to carry it forward in a direct line) retains and cauſes it to regard the Sun as a centre, revolving continually round, without ever deviating from its regular courſe.

Of theſe, Aſtronomers have diſcovered ſix, which are diſtinguiſhed by the names of Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. But though ſo intimately connected with us in the ſame relation to our common Sun; yet by reaſon of their great diſtances, theſe planets are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye from the fixed ſtars, excepting by a ſuperior brightneſs.

The Sun, an immenſe globe of fire, is placed near the common centre of the orbits of all the planets which compoſe our ſyſtem. His diameter is computed to be 763 thouſand miles; he turns round his own axis * in 25 days 6 hours, of our time; as is diſcovered by attending to the motion of ſpots on his ſurface; and, by the various attractions of the circumvolving planets, he is agitated by a ſmall motion round the centre of gravity of the whole ſyſtem.

Mercury, the neareſt planet to the Sun, deſcribes his revolution in 87 days 23 hours nearly, of our time; which is therefore the length of his year. But being ſo near the Sun, and no ſpots being ſeen on his ſurface, the time of rotation on his axis, or the length of his day and night, remains as yet unknown. His diameter is computed at 2600 miles, and his diſtance from the Sun to be about 36 millions of miles †. The light and heat he receives from the Sun are almoſt ſeven times as great in degree as

* The axis of a planet is a line conceived to be drawn through the centre of it, from one ſide to the other, about which it revolves as on a real ſpindle; the extremities of this line terminating at oppoſite points of the planet's ſurface, are called the poles of it.

† The diſtances of the planets from the Sun here aſſigned differ from thoſe hitherto received, being much larger: they are taken on the authority of the ingenious Mr. Ferguſon (whom we have in general followed in this little compendium) as aſcertained from obſervations of the late tranſit of Venus over the diſk of the Sun, in 1761. See the Table, p. 10.

with

with us: yet is the great heat of this planet no ſufficient argument againſt its being inhabited. Heat and cold are relative terms, and as our globe is inhabited, it is a concluſion warranted by analogic reaſoning, that all other globes which like us revolve round the Sun, are alſo furniſhed with inhabitants; whoſe conſtitutions are ſuitably framed to the circumſtances of their ſituation. When viewed through a good teleſcope, Mercury exhibits all the various phaſes of the Moon, excepting that we never ſee him quite full; for, when his enlightened ſide is turned full toward our Earth, he is either wholly loſt in the Sun's beams, or hid by the interpoſition of that grand luminary.

The next planet in order is Venus, whoſe diameter is 7906 miles, and her diſtance from the Sun near 69 millions of miles. She goes round the Sun in 224 days 17 hours nearly, of our time: but Aſtronomers differ greatly as to the length of her day; Bianchini making it equal to 24 ½ of our days; while Caſſini makes her diurnal revolution to be in 23 hours; and Kepler and others compute it to be in about 14 hours: a diſagreement owing to the difficulty of making accurate obſervations from her ſpots. When Venus appears weſtward of the Sun, ſhe riſes before him, and is then our morning ſtar; when ſhe appears eaſtward of him, ſhe ſets later, and is then called the evening ſtar; being each in turn for 290 days.

Venus and Mercury are called inferior planets, from their orbits being included within that of the Earth.

The Earth which we inhabit, is the next planet beyond Venus in the ſyſtem; at the diſtance of near 95 millions of miles from the Sun; which it encircles in 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes, as meaſured by the

time of its diurnal revolution round its own axis. The diameter of the earth is 7970 miles; and by turning round its axis every 24 hours from weſt to eaſt, it cauſes, to its inhabitants, who conceive it to be at reſt, an apparent motion of all heavenly bodies from eaſt to weſt in the ſame time: a deception which all the penetration of many of the antient philoſophers, could not enable them to correct; and which affords a ſtriking inſtance of the danger of truſting wholly to appearances, and the evidence of our ſenſes. By its diurnal rotation, the inhabitants of the equatorial parts, are rapidly carried 1042 miles every hour, while the Earth itſelf proceeds at the rate of 58 thouſand miles, in the ſame ſpace of time, on its annual paſſage round the Sun! This amazing motion, though 120 times ſwifter than that of a cannon ball, is yet but little more than half the ſwiftneſs of Mercury! And however this may ſtagger the belief of perſons not uſed to ſuch contemplations; if the Earth were ſuppoſed to be fixed, and all the heavenly bodies to move round it, as they ſeem to do, principles muſt be admitted infinitely more ſhocking to probability in every point of view.

The Earth is accommodated with an attendant planet or ſatellite called the Moon; which regards the Earth as a primary, moving round it, as the Earth moves round the Sun. Like the Earth, the Moon is a dark globe, ſhining only by reflecting the light of the Sun: its diameter is 2180 miles, and its diſtance from the centre of the Earth 240 thouſand miles; revolving round it in 27 days 7 hours 43 minutes. When the Moon is between us and the Sun, ſhe diſappears, as her dark ſide is then turned toward us; as ſhe proceeds onward, we begin to ſee her enlightened ſide, which we call the new Moon, this increaſes to our view as ſhe advances, until ſhe comes to be oppoſite to the Sun; when her whole enlightened face being turned toward the Earth, ſhe appears

appears with a round illumined orb, which we term the full Moon. From the full, ſhe ſeems to decreaſe gradually through the other half of her courſe, until her next conjunction with the Sun, when ſhe diſappears as before. The Moon turns round her axis in the ſame time exactly as ſhe revolves round the Earth; which is the reaſon that the ſame ſide of her is always toward us; and that her day and night taken together, are as long as our lunar month.

To inhabitants of the Moon the Earth muſt appear the biggeſt body in the Univerſe, ſerving it in the capacity of a Moon, thirteen times as large as that appears to us. The Earth muſt wax and wane regularly to her: when ſhe changes to us, the Earth will appear full to her; and when ſhe is in her firſt quarter to us, the Earth is in its third quarter to her; and ſo *vice verſa*.

All dark bodies expoſed to the light of the Sun, caſt a ſhadow behind them; which is nothing but a privation of light in the ſpace oppoſite to the Sun, by the rays being intercepted by the opaque body: and the Earth and Moon being both opaque bodies, which derive all their light from the Sun; when either of them interpoſes, the other will in ſome meaſure be obſcured. Thus, a ſolar eclipſe is occaſioned by the interpoſition of the Moon betwixt the Sun and the Earth; and a lunar eclipſe, by that of the Earth betwixt the Sun and the Moon. Such is the bulk of the Sun, and the diſtances of the ſeveral planets, that the primary planets can never eclipſe each other: a primary planet can only eclipſe its ſecondary, or be eclipſed by it; and then only when in oppoſition to, or conjunction with, the Sun.

The Moon being leſs than the Earth, her ſhadow can never cover the whole globe, but only a part; and a total darkneſs happens only to thoſe inhabitants

included within the ſhadow: the circumjacent parts within the penumbra or partial ſhadow, will receive different degrees of illumination, according to the diſtance from the centre of the real ſhadow. Beyond the limits of this penumbra, the Sun's face appears entire, and no eclipſe is perceived.

As it is evident there can be no eclipſe of the Sun, but when the Moon is in the change, ſo there can be no eclipſe of the Moon but at the time of the full: and ſince there is a new and full Moon every month, it may be proper to point out the reaſon why there is not an eclipſe at thoſe times in every month alſo.

Did the orbit of the Moon coincide with the plane of the Earth's orbit, there would be a total eclipſe of the Moon at every full, and a central eclipſe of the Sun at every change. But their orbits being placed obliquely, interſect each other in two points called nodes, where the Moon's orbit is found to make an angle of about five degrees with the ecliptic. The Moon, therefore, may be in ſuch a poſition from the nodes, as to paſs the oppoſition or conjunction either too high or too low to enter the ſhadow of the Earth, or to have her ſhadow or penumbra fall upon the Earth. Hence it is, that every new and full Moon do not neceſſarily occaſion an eclipſe: and it will farther appear, that no eclipſe can happen but when the Moon is near one of her nodes; when her diſtance from it will determine the quantity of the eclipſe. Both kind of eclipſes, may be either total, partial, or central.

The planet Mars is the next in order, beyond the orbit of the Earth. His diſtance from the Sun is computed to be near 145 millions of miles, and he goes round it in 686 of our days and 23 hours; which is therefore the length of his year: the time of his diurnal revolution exceeds ours by 40 minutes. His diameter

diameter is 4444 miles; the Sun appears but half ſo large to him as to us; and his proportion of light and heat but half of what we receive. This planet being but a fifth part ſo large as the Earth, if he is attended by any moon, it muſt be very ſmall; and no one has yet been diſcovered by our beſt teleſcopes.

Jupiter, the largeſt of all the planets, is ſtill higher in the ſyſtem; being about 493 millions of miles from the Sun. He is above 1000 times as large as our Earth, his diameter being 81 thouſand miles: he accompliſhes his annual period in 11 of our years, 314 days, and 12 hours; and turns round his axis in 9 hours 56 minutes. Jupiter is ſometimes ſeen to be ſurrounded with ſome faint appearances which are called belts; but ſo many changes are obſervable in them, ſometimes vaniſhing entirely, that nothing can be determined of them.

To Jupiter the Sun appears but $\frac{1}{11}$ part ſo large as he does to us; and muſt communicate light and heat in proportion. But this deficiency is compenſated by the quick ſucceſſion of his days; and by four moons, ſome larger and ſome leſs than our Earth, which revolve about him: ſo that there is no part of this large planet, but what is enlightened by one or more of them, during the night ſeaſon. The firſt moon, or that neareſt him, goes round him in 1 day, 18 hours, 36 minutes of our time, at the diſtance of 229 thouſand miles from his centre; the ſecond, performs his revolution in 3 days, 13 hours, 15 minutes, at 364 thouſand miles diſtance; the third, in 7 days, 3 hours, 59 minutes, at the diſtance of 580 thouſand miles; and the fourth or outermoſt, in 16 days, 18 hours, 30 minutes, at one million of miles diſtance from his centre. The three neareſt of his moons paſs through his ſhadow and are eclipſed in every revolution; but the orbit of his fourth moon is ſo much

inclined, that it paſſes its oppoſition to Jupiter without falling into his ſhadow, two years in every ſix. By theſe eclipſes aſtronomers have not only diſcovered that the Sun's light is eight minutes of time in coming to us; but they can alſo determine the longitude of places on this Earth, with greater facility and certainty, than by any other method yet known.

Saturn, the moſt remote of all the planets, is about 904 millions of miles from the Sun: his diameter is 67 thouſand miles; he is therefore near 600 times the ſize of our Earth. He performs his annual circuit in 29 of our years, 167 days, 5 hours; but not having any ſpots on his body which are viſible to us at this diſtance, the poſition of his axis, the time of his turning round it, and the length of his day and night, are of conſequence unknown to us. To Saturn the Sun appears only $\frac{1}{100}$ part ſo large as he is ſeen by us; to which his light and heat bear proportion: but then he is attended with five moons, the periods and diſtances of which are as follows. The firſt or neareſt moon goes round him in 1 day, 21 hours, 19 minutes, at the diſtance of 140 thouſand miles from his centre; the ſecond, in 2 days, 17 hours, 40 minutes, at 187 thouſand miles diſtance; the third, in 4 days, 12 hours, 25 minutes, at 263 thouſand miles diſtance; the fourth, in 15 days, 22 hours, 41 minutes, at 600 thouſand miles diſtance; and the fifth or outermoſt, in 79 days, 7 hours, 48 minutes, at 1 million 800 thouſand miles diſtance.

Beſide theſe five moons, Saturn is accommodated with a ſingular phænomenon, being ſurrounded by a broad thin illumined ring, at about 21 thouſand miles diſtance; and being alſo about the ſame breadth. One half of this ring is enlightened by the Sun for near 15 of our years together, that is, for one

half of Saturn's ſolar revolution; for ſo long time therefore will this ring be viſible and inviſible alternately: but ſhould the axis of the planet be inclined to the ring, it would appear and diſappear once every of their natural days, to the inhabitants, for a diſtance on each ſide of Saturn's equinoctial, equal to the ſuppoſed inclination. Many other caſes might be ſtated from different ſuppoſitions; which, though they would prove entertaining to ſpeculative readers, our limits will not allow us to dwell upon.

A TABLE of the Diameters, Periods, &c. of the ſeveral Planets in the Solar Syſtem.

Names of the Planets.	Diameters.	Mean diſtances from the Sun, as determined from obſervations of the tranſit of Venus, in 1761.	Annual periods round the Sun.	Diurnal rotations.	Inclination of Axis to Orbit.	Jupiter's moons.		Saturn's moons.	
						Periods round their primary.		Periods round their primary.	
	Miles.			d. h.		Moons.	Time.	Moons.	Time.
Sun	763000	E. miles.	d. h.	25 6	8°		d. h. m.		d. h. m.
Mercury	2600	36,668,373	87 23	unkn.	unkn.	1	1 18 36	1	1 21 19
Venus	7906	68,518,044	224 17		75°	2	3 13 15	2	2 17 40
Earth	7970	94,725,840	365 6	1	23° 29′	3	7 3 59	3	4 12 45
Moon	2180	ditto.	ditto.	29 12¾	2° 10′	4	16 18 30	4	15 22 41
Mars	4444	144,588,575	686 23	24 40	0			5	79 7 48
Jupiter	81000	492,665,307	4332 12	9 56	0				
Saturn	67000	903,690,197	10759 7	unkn.	unkn.				

We

We have now gone through a general account of the regular bodies which compoſe the ſolar ſyſtem. But theſe are not all which belong to it; for we are ſometimes viſited by erratic bodies called Comets. Theſe move in very eccentric ellipſes, and return at very different periods; three of which being calculated are found to return at intervals of 75, 129, and 575 years. This laſt Comet, at its fartheſt receſs, muſt be about 11 thouſand 200 millions of miles from the Sun: while its leaſt diſtance from the centre of the Sun is but 490 thouſand miles; within leſs than $\frac{1}{7}$ part of the Sun's ſemidiameter from his ſurface. At this part of its orbit, in going round the Sun, its ſwiftneſs is found to be that of 880 thouſand miles in an hour! The aſtoniſhing length which this Comet flies to in the univerſal ſpace, naturally ſuggeſts to our imagination the vaſt diſtance betwixt our Sun and the neareſt of the fixed ſtars! whoſe attraction the Comets cannot reach, to return periodically to the Sun: and hints to us that thoſe ſtars ſhining by their own luſtre, are alſo Suns each ſurrounded with its ſeveral ſyſtem of planets, all reduced to one point of viſion, by their aſtoniſhing diſtance.

The near approach ſome of theſe Comets make to the Sun is ſuch, as would vitrify any known ſubſtance: the heat which that of the year 1680 thus acquired, was calculated by Sir Iſaac Newton to exceed by 2000 times, that of red hot iron; and that being thus heated, it would retain its heat during its revolution until it returned to the Sun, were it 20 thouſand years inſtead of 575. It is believed that there are at leaſt 21 comets belonging to our ſyſtem, moving in all directions.

The Comets appear with long tranſparent trains or tails extending from that ſide which is oppoſite the Sun; the nature of which has afforded much room for conjecture and controverſy. But from the circumſtance

cumſtance of their conſtant oppoſition to the Sun, it is not improbable that they may be their ſeveral lucid atmoſpheres, which though loſt in the rays of the Sun on their enlightened ſides, may nevertheleſs be viſible in their ſhadows.

That the univerſal ſpace in which the celeſtial bodies move, is a vacuum, ſeems moſt reconcilable to phænomena, and to reaſon; whatever the Carteſians and others may oppoſe to the contrary. We find all mediums that we are acquainted with, to retard the motion of bodies, in proportion to the denſity of ſuch medium: as the planets therefore proceed with ſuch uniform motions, it argues, that the ſpace in which they move muſt be void of all ſenſible reſiſtance, and conſequently of all ſenſible matter; except perhaps, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſuppoſes, ſome few and much rarified effluvia of the planets and comets, and the paſſing rays of light.

This is farther corroborated by conſidering the azure colour of the ſky; which admits of being more rationally accounted for on the principle of a vacuum, than upon any other principle. Where there is no matter to reflect the rays of light, (whatever thoſe rays may by hypotheſes be ſuppoſed to be), they will paſs through ſuch place, and leave it totally dark: now if the univerſal ſpace be ſuppoſed to be totally dark; ſuch darkneſs, ſeen through the enlightened atmoſphere which ſurrounds the Earth, will neceſſarily be ſoftened into an azure blue: and this we experience to be the colour of the ſky; with this farther evidence in favour of the poſition, that the darker and clearer the air is, in the night ſeaſon, the Sun and Moon being abſent; of the deeper colour do we find the ſky to appear.

The planetary motions admit of being phyſically accounted for from the known laws of motion. Thus mathe-

mathematicians and astronomers fav. that from the uniform projectile motion of bodies in straight lines, and the power of attraction, which draws them off from their rectilinear courses, the curvilinear motions of all the planets arise. If a body which we will call A, be projected along a right line, in open space where it meets with no resistance, and without being influenced by any other power; it will proceed for ever in the same direction, and with the same velocity. For the force with which it moves any given distance, in any given time, will carry it as much farther, in as much more time. But if, when its projectile force has carried it some way, a superior body, as *B*, should begin to attract it, with a power duly adjusted, and perpendicular to its direction; it is demonstrable from the laws of the composition of forces, that the smaller body *A* would be drawn from its straight line, and revolve about the attracting body *B*, and if at any part of its orbit, a third body yet smaller, as *C*, should come within the sphere of the attraction of the revolving body *A*, with a projectile direction perpendicular to the attraction; that third body would be drawn into an orbicular motion round it, and will attend it in its course round the larger body *B*. Here the bodies *A*, *B* and *C* are put in the circumstances of the Earth, Sun, and Moon.

By laws which it is not incumbent on us to enter into, it is found that bodies moving in space void of resistance, revolve in all kind of ellipses, long and short, according to the proportion the projectile force and gravitating power bear to each other: a very nice balance between them being requisite to produce a circular orbit. Thus planets which move in long ellipses have their projectile force greatly spent in the higher parts of their orbits; and their velocities in returning toward the Sun, prodigiously increased by his attraction. Here their centrifugal forces are so great, as to overcome the Sun's attraction, and

to

and effects including great part of the reſearches of modern philoſophers have, as far as diſcovered, been reduced to preciſe laws and demonſtrations; and compoſe a branch of philoſophy and mathematics, called pneumatics.

The axis of the Earth, as has been already obſerved, is an imaginary line, on which, as a ſpindle, the whole maſs turns round: correſponding to which, aſtronomers and geographers have denominated that line or circumference of the globe which is equidiſtant from the two poles of its axis, and which divides the globe into two hemiſpheres; the equinoctial line, or the equator: under which line, the day and night are equal in length throughout the year. Was the axis of the Earth perpendicular to the plane of its orbit, ſo that the equinoctial circle coincided with that plane; or in other words, was the Sun always vertical over that track of our Earth; in that caſe, there would be no diverſity of ſeaſons; but every part would unalterably enjoy that degree of the Sun's influence, which by the figure of the Earth diſtinguiſhes their reſpective climates. But the fact is otherwiſe; and the axis of the Earth is inclined to the plane of its orbit in an angle of 66° 31′: whence it happens that the plane of the equator cuts the plane of the Earth's orbit, in an angle of 23° 29′. The Sun by this means is ſucceſſively twice in every year vertical over an extent of about 47° in the middle region between the two poles; deſcribing a kind of ſpiral courſe from its fartheſt declination on one ſide the equinoctial, to an equal diſtance on the other ſide. It is this inclination of the plane of the equator to that of the annual orbit of the Earth, which occaſions the variation of ſeaſons, and the different lengths of day and night; which every country experiences in the courſe of a year: and has given riſe to the invention of a number of arbitrary ſuppoſed circles on the globe, to enable mankind to treat of

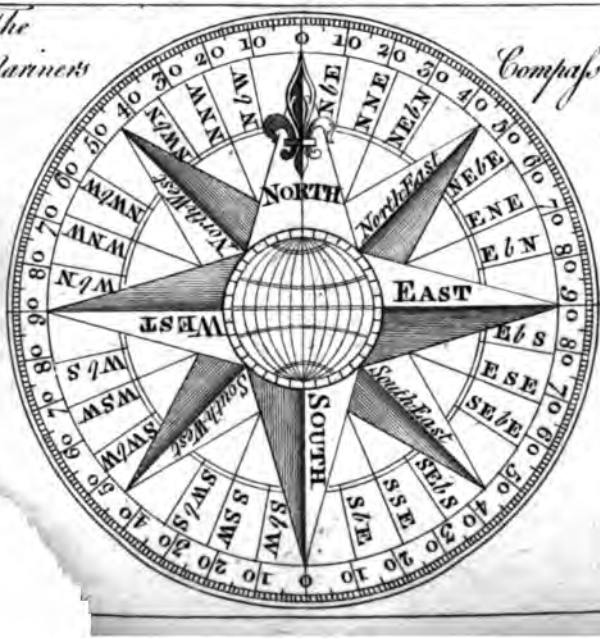
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The Terrestial Globe



The Marriners Compass



theſe matters with preciſion and facility; an explanation of which is ſubjoined, as they are repreſented on the armillary ſphere.

The Armillary, or Artificial Sphere, is an inſtrument repreſenting the ſeveral circles of the ſphere in their natural order; ſerving to give an idea of the nature and poſition of them, relatively to each other; and to reſolve and illuſtrate various problems concerning the Earth. It is called armillary ſphere, as conſiſting of a number of rings of braſs or other metal, in alluſion to the ancient *armillae*, which were rings or bracelets for the arms.

Before we enter upon the conſideration of circles, it is to be premiſed that all circles are commenſurable with each other; and are divided into 360 parts, in reference to the circumference of the Earth at the equator; which is 360 degrees; each degree being ſubdivided into 60 miles or minutes.

A great circle of the ſphere, is one whoſe circumference is equal to that of the ſphere, and whoſe diameter and centre are the ſame with thoſe of the ſphere.

The two extremities of the Earth's axis are called its poles; one of which is known by the name of the *arctic*, or north pole, and the other by that of the *antarctic*, or ſouth pole.

The *Equinoctial circle*, or *Equator*, as has been before deſcribed, is a great circle, in the plane of which the Earth performs its diurnal rotation: it is equidiſtant between the poles of its axis, and divides the globe into two equal hemiſpheres, the northern and the ſouthern. When the Sun arrives at this circle, day and night are every where equal; from whence it has its name.

The *Ecliptic* is a great circle cutting the equator in an angle of 23° 29′; and is that circle which is in the plane of the Earth's annual orbit, and which has this obliquity with its diurnal motion: it therefore deſcribes the direction of the Earth's annual courſe.

The *Polar circles* are two leſſer circles which the poles of the ecliptic deſcribe round the poles of the equator. Their diſtance from the poles of the equator are therefore anſwerable to the obliquity of the ecliptic.

In aſtronomical conſiderations, as the ſeveral planets do not move round the Sun in the ſame plane with the Earth, though their deviations are not conſiderable; by extending the ecliptic 8° on either ſide, making it 16° broad; under which extenſion it is denominated the *Zodiac*; it then includes all the planetary orbits. The Zodiac was by the ancients divided, beginning at the equinoctial points, into 12 equal portions called ſigns, from the names of the conſtellations of fixed ſtars, which at the time of dividing it, were included in the parts aſſigned to them. The names and characters of theſe ſigns are as follow.

Aries	♈	Leo	♌	Sagittarius	♐
Taurus	♉	Virgo	♍	Capricornus	♑
Gemini	♊	Libra	♎	Aquarius	♒
Cancer	♋	Scorpio	♏	Piſces	♓

The knowledge of theſe ſigns is neceſſary, as the ſeveral ſeaſons are frequently expreſſed by mentioning the Sun's place in them.

The vernal or ſpring ſigns, are Aries, Taurus, Gemini;

The æſtival or ſummer ſigns, are Cancer, Leo, Virgo;

The

The autumnal ſigns, are Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius;
The brumal or winter ſigns, are Capricornus, Aquarius, Piſces.

The vernal and ſummer ſigns are called northern ſigns; as being on the northern ſide of the equator: and the autumnal and brumal ſigns are called ſouthern ſigns, from a like reaſon.

The *Tropics* may be defined two leſſer circles of the globe, parallel to the equator, on either ſide, marking the greateſt receſs of the Sun from the equator toward each pole; or ſhewing the greateſt northern and ſouthern declination of the Sun, or obliquity of the ecliptic.

Of the Tropics, that drawn through the beginning of Cancer, is called the Tropic of Cancer; and the other through the beginning of Capricorn, the Tropic of Capricorn.

A *Meridian* is a great circle paſſing through the poles of the Equator, and dividing the globe into the eaſtern and weſtern hemiſpheres; it marks the time of noon, or when the Sun is at its greateſt altitude over any place. A meridian is an arbitrary circle; and as every part of the globe eaſtward or weſtward has a different meridian belonging to it, meridians may be drawn through any point in the Equator: all places under the ſame meridian, and on the ſame ſide of either pole, have their noon at the ſame time; but of two places under the ſame meridian, on different ſides of either pole, the mid-noon of one anſwers to mid-night of the other.

There are two meridians called *Colures*; the one conceived to paſs through the equinoctial points of interſection with the ecliptic, at the beginning of

Aries and Libra; the other at right angles to the former, through the firſt degrees of Cancer and Capricorn: theſe mark the commencement of the different ſeaſons at every place ſituated under them; and are hence called the equinoctial, and ſolſtitial colures.

The *Horizon* is a great circle of the ſphere, dividing the world into two hemiſpheres, the one upper and viſible, the other lower and inviſible. The horizon is either ſenſible or rational: the ſenſible horizon is a circle touching the Earth in the point whereon we ſtand, the plane of which extends all round as far as our ſight can reach: the rational horizon may be defined to be a plane paſſing through the centre of the Earth, and extended infinitely every way, parallel to the ſenſible horizon. The viſible horizon is moſt accurately obſerved at ſea, the inequalities and obſtructions on land being great impediments: and it may be obſerved that in looking through the ſights of a quadrant at the fartheſt part of the ſea within view, the viſual rays will, by the convexity of the ſurface of the ſea, point a little below the true ſenſible horizon.

Horizons, like meridians, are moveable circles; every different place having a different horizon.

The exact ſituation of particular places and cities, is aſcertained by determining their latitude and longitude.

The *Latitude* of any place, is its diſtance northward or ſouthward from the equator, meaſured upon its meridian. But as numbers of places lie under the ſame parallels of latitude, the latitude of a place only, will not point out its ſituation without alſo knowing its longitude.

INTRODUCTIO

The *Longitude* of any place, is the kn
the meridian of ſuch place. Hence where
of latitude, and the meridian of the pla
each other, there its ſituation is pointed ou
latitude of any place is eaſily found, as it is mea
from a known and invariable circle of the globe;
it is otherwiſe as to longitude; geography not
plying any rule for fixing a firſt meridian, from
all others may be meaſured and determined.
therefore been the practice of geographers to
the meridian of ſome remarkable place or
meaſure from, as a firſt meridian; to which a
meridians refer. Ptolemy fixed it at the re
iſland of Teneriff, one of the Canary
being the moſt weſtern part of the then kn
The French geographers altered it to Fer
of the ſame cluſter of iſlands; but now
of every nation generally reckon
eaſtward and weſtward from their r
cities.

To diſcover a certain method for finding the longitude at ſea, is a problem which has extremely perplexed the mathematicians for theſe two laſt ages; and for the ſolution whereof great rewards have been publicly offered by the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and other nations; this being the only article wanting to render navigation perfect. Various are the attempts that have been made, and methods propoſed, but without ſucceſs; their principles being found precarious or falſe, or their methods impracticable.

All methods depending on the phænomena of the heavens, having this one defect, that they cannot be obſerved at all times; and being beſide of difficult and uncertain application at ſea, from the motion of the veſſel; many enquirers, leaving the moon, and ſatellites of Jupiter, have recourſe to clocks and other time pieces. Could theſe be made perfectly juſt and

regular, ſo as to keep true time without gaining or loſing; and without being affected by change of air and difference of climates; the longitude of a ſhip's place might thence be found with all required accuracy. For, ſince by the diurnal motion of the Earth, every point upon its ſurface deſcribes the circumference of a circle or 360°, in twenty four hours, it is plain it muſt deſcribe 15° in one hour: hence the difference of longitude may be converted into time, and time into difference of longitude; conſequently by knowing the one, we are enabled to diſcover the other. Whatever contrivance therefore will ſhew the hours of the day at the ſame abſolute point of time in two different places, will alſo ſerve to find the difference of longitude between thoſe places. Such a machine has by long and aſſiduous ſtudy, and repeated trials at ſea, been ſo far effected by Mr. Harriſon, a very ingenious watchmaker, that he has obtained half the reward due by act of parliament, to the perſon making ſuch diſcovery to an aſſigned degree of accuracy.

Degrees of latitude are all aſſumed equal in length, but degrees of longitude vary in every parallel of latitude: for all meridians meeting in one point at the poles, the degrees of longitude neceſſarily diminiſh as they recede on either ſide from the equator. An orange with the rind ſtripped off, is a good illuſtration of this fact; where the natural diviſions of the fruit are a lively repreſentation of the meridians of a globe: and tranſverſe ſections, or ſlices of it cut croſsways, will ſhew how the diſtances between them leſſen, from the middle ſlice, which may be ſuppoſed to ſhew the plane of the equator, to the leſſer ſlices either way, toward thoſe points where the diviſions all meet.

The following table ſhews the length of a degree of longitude, through all the parallels of latitude, from

from the equator where it is reckoned at 60 miles or parts, to the poles where it diminiſhes to nothing.

A TABLE: Shewing the length of a Degree of Longitude, at every parallel of Latitude.

Lat.	Miles.	Min.	Lat.	Miles.	Min.	Lat.	Miles.	Min.
Equator	60	00	31	51	24	61	29	04
1	59	56	32	50	52	62	28	08
2	59	55	33	50	20	63	27	12
3	59	52	34	49	44	64	26	16
4	59	50	35	49	08	65	25	20
5	59	46	36	48	32	66	24	24
6	59	40	37	47	56	67	23	28
7	59	37	38	47	16	68	22	32
8	59	24	39	46	36	69	21	32
9	59	10	40	46	00	70	20	32
10	59	00	41	45	16	71	19	32
11	58	52	42	44	36	72	18	32
12	58	40	43	43	52	73	17	32
13	58	28	44	43	08	74	16	32
14	58	12	45	42	24	75	15	32
15	58	00	46	41	40	76	14	32
16	57	40	47	41	00	77	13	32
17	57	20	48	40	08	78	12	32
18	57	04	49	39	20	79	11	28
19	56	44	50	38	32	80	10	24
20	56	24	51	37	44	81	9	20
21	56	00	52	37	00	82	8	20
22	55	36	53	36	08	83	7	20
23	55	12	54	35	26	84	6	12
24	54	48	55	34	24	85	5	12
25	54	24	56	33	32	86	4	12
26	54	00	57	32	40	87	3	12
27	53	28	58	31	48	88	2	4
28	53	00	59	31	00	89	1	4
29	52	28	60	30	00	90	0	00
30	51	56						

The before deſcribed circles of the ſphere, ſerve equally for geographical, and for aſtronomical computations: geographers conceive them to be on the ſurface of the Earth; while aſtronomers extend and transfer them to the orb which bounds our view of the vaſt expanſe of the Univerſe.

That the Earth is of a ſpherical form, is a truth too well aſcertained by phænomena and analogic reaſoning, to need defending now: the demonſtrative proofs of its having been ſailed round by navigators; the manner of the firſt appearance, and laſt diſappearance of ſhips at ſea; the maſt-head firſt, and then gradually more and more down to the hull, being ſeen in the firſt caſe, which diſappear inverſely in the ſecond caſe; and laſtly, the conſtant circular appearance of the ſhadow of the Earth as ſeen in eclipſes of the Moon; all eſtabliſh this great truth beyond poſſibility of doubt. The deep vallies and ſtupendous mountains and rocks which give the Earth ſo rough and irregular an appearance to our minute inſpection on the ſurface, are no greater interruptions to its globular figure, than the little protuberances in the ſkin of an orange or lemon.

The ſpherical form of the Earth, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, ariſes from the great principle of attraction, which the Creator has ſtamped on all the matter of the Univerſe: whereby all bodies and their conſtituent parts, mutually tend toward, and attract each other. Hence ariſes the ſpherical figure of drops of rain, quickſilver, and other detached portions of fluids.

Though we call the Earth a ſphere, it is found not to be abſolutely ſo; its equatorial diameter being longer than its polar; Sir Iſaac Newton aſcertains the difference to be about 34 miles; ſo that its figure ſomewhat reſembles that of a nine-pin bowl, ſwelling out

out toward the equator, and flatted at the poles, in the form that mathematicians term an oblate ſpheroid. If the Earth were in a fluid ſtate, its revolution round its axis would neceſſarily make it aſſume ſuch a figure; as the centrifugal force being greateſt under the equator, would throw the fluid toward the equatorial parts, where it would riſe and ſwell moſt: and that its figure ſhould really be ſo now, ſeems conſonant to reaſon, as otherwiſe the Sea in that part of the Earth, would overflow the Land.

This theory is greatly confirmed and illuſtrated, by attending to the circumſtances and figure of the planet Jupiter. As this planet, which is ſo much larger than the Earth, revolves in 9 hours, 56 minutes; it appears that his equatorial parts muſt have an amazing velocity, and muſt throw him into a ſpheroidal form. Accordingly the difference between his equatorial and polar diameters is found to be 6230 miles: ſo that his poles are 3115 miles nearer his centre, than his equator is. This is the neceſſary reſult of the quick motion round his axis: for, the fluids with ſo much earth as is waſhed away with them, muſt recede from the poles which are nearly at reſt (as to his diurnal motion) toward the equator where the motion is exceſſively rapid; until a ſufficient quantity ſhould be there accumulated, to balance the deficiency of gravity, loſt by the centrifugal force: when this equilibrium is adjuſted, the equatorial parts would riſe no higher; but his figure remain permanent. Our Earth being but ſmall, compared with him, and its motion much ſlower, is of courſe leſs altered by it; hence our poles are but about 17 miles nearer the centre, than the ſurface at the equator is.

In the firſt volume of Dr. Long's Aſtronomy, is mentioned an ingenious method of finding nearly the proportion of Land to Sea on the ſurface of our Earth;

Earth; which is by carefully cutting out the Land from the paper of a large terreſtrial globe, and weighing it againſt the paper which repreſents the Sea: this the Doctor performed, (excluſive of the areas of the polar circles, of the contents of land or water in which we have no proper knowledge) and by the proportion their weights bore to each other, he concluded that almoſt three fourth parts of the ſurface of the Earth are covered with water.

By the before-mentioned tropics and polar circles, the Earth is diſtinguiſhed into five portions or *Zones*, denominated from the different circumſtances attending their ſituation. The different Zones are attended with a great diverſity of phænomena.

The *Torrid Zone* is all that middle circumference of the globe included between the two tropics of Cancer and Capricorn; its breadth is therefore 46° 58′: the equator paſſing through the middle of it, divides it into two equal and parallel parts, each 23° 29′ broad. The Sun paſſes through the Zenith in this Zone twice in every year; and his receſs from the equator toward the pole which is above the Horizon, is twice a-year equal to the height of the Pole. The ancients thought the Torrid Zone to be uninhabitable.

The *Temperate Zones* are two parallel circumferential portions of the Earth's ſurface, contained between the tropics and the polar circles, on either ſide the Torrid Zone. Their reſpective breadths are 43° 2′. The Sun never reaches the Zenith in theſe Zones. In the Torrid and Temperate Zones, the Sun riſes and ſets every natural day; as the diſtance of the Sun from the Pole, always exceeds the height of the Pole above the Horizon: yet in every part, excepting under the Equator, the artificial days are unequal; and this inequality is the greater, the farther any place is diſtant from the Equator.

The

The *Frigid Zones*, are ſegments of the Earth's ſurface, included, the one by the arctic, and the other by the antarctic circles; the breadth of each is 46° 58′.

Where the Temperate Zones border on the Frigid, the elevation of the Pole is equal to the Sun's diſtance from it, when in the neighbouring tropic: conſequently once a year the Sun performs a revolution without ſinking under the Horizon. Every where in a Frigid Zone, the elevation of the Pole is greater than the leaſt diſtance of the Sun from the Pole; therefore in theſe tracts, beginning at 66° 30′, at the ſummer ſolſtice, the day is a month long, and the night at the winter ſolſtice, is of the ſame duration: and at the Poles the Sun does not ſet for one ſix months, nor appear above the Horizon for the next ſix months enſuing.

For the greater preciſion in treating of different countries, the Zones are ſubdivided into *Climates*; ſerving to diſtinguiſh places by the length of their longeſt days, which differ in every parallel of latitude.

The day is conſtantly 12 hours long at the Equator, and increaſes in length, in proportion to diſtances north or ſouth from the Equator toward the Poles.

A *Climate* then is a track round the globe parallel to the Equator, wherein the day is half an hour longer than it is in the next ſuperior Climate toward the Equator; and half an hour ſhorter than the next inferior Climate toward the Poles.

There are 30 Climates reckoned between the Equator and either of the Poles; in the firſt twenty four, the days increaſe by half hours; but in the remaining ſix, between each polar circle and the Pole, they differ by months, as will appear by the following Table.

Climates

Climates.	Latitude. D.	M.	Breadth. D.	M.	Longeſt Day. H.	M.
1	8	25	8	25	12	30
2	16	25	8		13	
3	23	50	7	25	13	30
4	30	25	6	30	14	
5	36	28	6	8	14	30
6	41	22	4	54	15	
7	45	29	4	7	15	30
8	49	01	3	32	16	
9	52	00	2	57	16	30
10	54	27	2	29	17	
11	56	37	2	10	17	30
12	58	29	1	52	18	
13	59	58	1	29	18	30
14	61	18	1	20	19	
15	62	25	1	7	19	30
16	63	22		57	20	
17	64	06		44	20	30
18	64	49		43	21	
19	65	21		32	21	30
20	65	47		22	22	
21	66	06		19	22	30
22	66	20		14	23	
23	66	28		8	23	30
24	66	31		3	24	
25	67	21	1 Month			
26	69	48	2 Months			
27	73	37	3 Months			
28	78	30	4 Months			
29	84	05	5 Months			
30	90		6 Months			

The

The application of this Table is very obvious; ſince by knowing the latitude of any particular place; a ſingle inſpection of the table will ſhew what Climate it is in, and the length of the longeſt day at one view. However, for the more ready information of the reader, we ſhall add, as a kind of Index to the Table, a liſt of ſome of the moſt remarkable places ſituated in each Climate.

I. Within the firſt Climate lie the Gold and Slave coaſt in Africa, the Moluccas, the Maldives, Borneo, Malacca, Sumatra, &c.

II. Here lie Abyſſinia, Ethiopia, Siam, Cormandel, and the iſland of Ceylon.

III. Contains Mecca, Arabia Felix, Bengal, Tonquin, and Mexico.

IV. The iſland of Ormus, in the Perſian-gulf; great part of Indoſtan, the Canary iſlands, and Alexandria in Egypt.

V. Babylon, Tunis, Rhodes, Iſpahan, Nanking, and Pekin in China.

VI. Liſbon and great part of Portugal, Madrid in Spain, Palermo in Sicily, great part of Greece, Aſia Minor, the Perſian provinces on the Caſpian Sea, part of India, and Great Tartary, Corea, and Japan, part of California, New Mexico, Louiſiana, Florida, Georgia, part of South Carolina, the Bahama iſlands, and the Azores.

VII. Biſcay and all the northern provinces of Spain, the ſouthern provinces of France, Milan, Rome, Venice, Belgrade, Conſtantinople, the Black Sea, Georgia, the Caſpian Sea, Great Tartary, Boſton in New-England, and Port-Royal in Nova Scotia.

VIII. Paris and the interior provinces of France, Vienna, Hungary, Crim Tartary, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

IX. London, Prague, Francfort, Cracow, the ſouthern province of Muſcovy, &c.

X. Dublin,

X. Dublin, Amſterdam, Dantzic, Warſaw, and part of Ruſſia.

XI. Edinburgh, Copenhagen, &c.

XII. Gottenburgh, in Sweden, Riga, in Livonia, &c.

XIII. Stockholm, the middle parts of the Ruſſian dominions in Europe and Aſia, part of Terra de Labrador, on the coaſt of Hudſon's Bay.

XIV. The Orkney iſles, great part of Norway, Sweden, Ruſſia, and Hudſon's ſtraits, &c.

XV. Bergen in Norway, part of Finland, and the ſouthern part of Greenland.

XVI. Perma Welick, a town in Muſcovy.

XVII. Part of Finland, Ruſſia, &c.

XVIII. Drontheim in Norway.

XIX. Tobolſki, the capital of Siberia.

XX. Town of Viſtrum in Finland.

XXI. Port of Torna in Bothnia.

XXII. Caienbourgh in Ruſſia.

XXIII. Skalhot in Iceland.

XXIV. Hola in Iceland.

XXV. Moſcovite Lapland.

XXVI. Groenland.

XXVII. Zembla Auſtralis.

XXVIII. Zembla Borealis.

XXIX. Spitzbergen or Greenland.

XXX. Unknown.

Beſide the before-mentioned diviſions and ſubdiviſions of the Earth, other diſtinctions have obtained, which are rather fanciful than uſeful. Thus, the ancients named the inhabitants of the Earth, from the inclination of their ſhadows, *Periſcii*, *Heteroſcii*, and *Amphiſcii* or *Aſcii*.

The *Periſcii*, are thoſe beyond the polar circles, whoſe ſhadows turn round them every 24 hours.

Heteroſcii,

Heteroſcii, are the inhabitants of the Temperate Zones, whoſe noon ſhadows ever fall one way; the north Temperate Zone throwing them northward, and the ſouth Temperate Zone throwing them ſouthward.

The *Amphiſcii*, are thoſe of the Torrid or middle Zone; whoſe noon ſhadows fall different ways at different ſeaſons: and becauſe twice in the year the Sun is in their zenith, and their bodies caſt no ſhadow on either ſide, they are alſo called *Aſcii*. Theſe names are of Greek derivation.

Mankind are alſo from their different relative ſituations, denominated *Perieci*, *Antieci*, and *Antipodes*.

The *Perieci* are thoſe who live in the ſame parallel, have the ſame latitude and ſeaſons, and the ſame pole elevated; but have oppoſite meridians, and conſequently oppoſite day and night.

Antieci, are thoſe people who have the ſame meridian but oppoſite parallels, equidiſtant from the Equator, on contrary ſides. Their longitude is the ſame, their day and night of the ſame length; but they have contrary poles and ſeaſons.

Antipodes are ſuch whoſe parallel and meridian are both oppoſite: they have the whole globe between them in diametrical oppoſition; and have contrary poles elevated. Their feet are directly oppoſed; and their day and night, their winter and ſummer contrary to each other.

This ſubject cannot properly be diſmiſſed, without attending a little to the ſurpriſing phænomena of the flux and reflux of the ſea; with the generation of winds: and giving ſome general idea of the cauſes to which they are owing.

Were

Were the Earth ſo far removed from the influence of the Sun and Moon as to be without the ſpheres of their attractions; it is not to be doubted, but the Ocean being equally preſſed by the force of gravity toward the centre of the Earth, would continue every where in a ſtate of perfect ſtagnation. But it being demonſtrable that the Sun and Moon have a like principle of gravitation toward their centres, and that the Earth is within the activity of their attractions; it will plainly follow, that the equality of the gravitation of bodies toward the centre of the Earth, will thereby be diſturbed: and though the ſmall degrees of theſe counteractions render them imperceptible by any experiments we can make; yet the Ocean being fluid, and yielding to the leaſt impulſe, it ſhews by its riſing where it is leaſt preſſed; and where it is moſt preſſed by its ſinking.

Now if we ſuppoſe the force of the Moon's attraction to decreaſe, as the ſquare of the diſtance from its centre increaſes; we ſhall find that where the Moon is perpendicularly either above or below the Horizon, there the force of gravity muſt be moſt of all diminiſhed; and that in thoſe oppoſite parts the Ocean muſt neceſſarily ſwell, by the flowing of the water from thoſe parts where the preſſure is greateſt.

If this is rightly comprehended, it follows thence that the Sea, which would otherwiſe be ſpherical, muſt, upon the preſſure of the Moon, form itſelf into a ſpheroidal or oval figure, whoſe longeſt diameter is where the Moon is vertical, and its ſhorteſt, in the Horizon: and that by the revolution of the Earth, the Moon being in turn expoſed to all ſides of it, the oval of the water follows her, occaſioning thereby the two floods and ebbs obſervable in each $24\frac{3}{4}$ hours.

On

On this theory, the tides ought to be higheſt, directly under and oppoſite to the Moon; but we find that in open Seas where the water flows freely, the Moon is generally paſt the Meridian wh:n it is high water there. The reaſon is obvious; : motion of aſcent communicated to the water, :s it continue to riſe for ſome time after the att on of the Moon declines.

Thus much for the general cauſe of tide wh is greatly corroborated by ſhewi ıuy it accounts for particular circum..... es : o' them.

The ſpring-tides upon the new and full Moons, and the neap-tides on the others, are occaſioned by the attractive force of the Sun, conſpiring with the Moon at new and full, and producing a tide by their united forces: whereas in the quarters, the Sun raiſes the water when the Moon depreſſes it, and the contrary; ſo that the tides only riſe by the difference of their forces.

That the influence of the Sun operates no ſtronger in this caſe, is owing to the vaſt diſtance of the Sun, and the proximity of the Moon.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that the equinoctial ſpring-tides in March and September, or near them, are the higheſt, and the neap-tides the loweſt: which ariſes from the greater agitation of the water, when the fluid ſpheroid revolves about the equator, where the centrifugal force is greateſt; as well as from the concurrent action of the Sun and Moon before mentioned. Whence the Sun and Moon being either conjoined or oppoſite in the equinoctial, produce the greateſt ſpring-tides; and the ſubſequent neap-tides, being produced by the tropical Moon in the quarters, are always the leaſt tides: whereas in

[illegible] the ſpring-tides, being made by [illegible] and Moon, are leſs vigorous, &c. [illegible] by the equinoctial Moon, and therefore [illegible] Hence it happens that the diffe- [illegible] between the ſpring and neap-tides is much leſs [illegible] than in March and December. And [illegible] why the higheſt ſpring-tides happen rather [illegible] the vernal, and after the autumnal equinoxes, [illegible] in February and October, than exactly upon [illegible], is, becauſe the Sun is nearer the Earth in the [illegible] Moons, and its effect is therefore at thoſe [illegible] greater.

By the motion thus communicated to the Sea by the lunar influence, it would continue to ebb and flow for ſeveral times, were the Sun and Moon annihilated, or their attractive powers wholly deſtroyed: as we perceive in any veſſel of water, which having been agitated, will continue to move for ſome time after the veſſel has ſtood ſtill; or as a pendulum, which after having been put in motion, continues to make ſeveral vibrations, until the continued action of gravity has conquered the foreign temporary impulſe.

The tides riſe but to ſmall heights in open Seas, in proportion to what they do in wide mouthed rivers, which open to the Sea in the direction of the current of the tide. For in channels gradually contracting, the water is accumulated in height by the obſtruction of the banks; in like manner as a gentle breeze, ſcarcely perceived in an open common, becomes a briſk wind in the contracted channel of a ſtreet or alley, eſpecially if it lies in the direction of the current.

The regular courſe of the tides is ſo retarded and altered in its progreſs through ſhoals and irregular channels, and by ſtriking againſt capes and headlands,

lands, oppoſing themſelves in all directions; that in different parts, the tides riſe at all diſtances of the Moon from the meridians of places. Thus, in the German ocean, the tide propagated when the Moon is three hours paſt the Meridian, is 12 hours in its paſſage to London bridge; where it does not arrive until a new tide commences in the ocean. It is owing to this fact, that when the Moon has a North declination, and we might expect the tide at London to be higheſt when the Moon is above the Horizon, we find it to be leaſt; and the contrary in her ſouthern declination.

There are no obſervable tides in Lakes having ſmall or no communications with the open Sea; becauſe when the Moon is at her greateſt altitude ſhe influences every part of them alike, by reaſon of their limited ſize; and thus rendering the water equally light, there are no inequalities in its elevation. From this cauſe it is that confined Seas, like the Baltic and Mediterranean, have very inconſiderable fluxes and refluxes; the inlets by which they communicate with the ocean being ſo ſmall, that they cannot in ſo ſhort a time receive or diſcharge a body of water ſufficient to elevate or depreſs their ſurfaces ſenſibly.

Conformably to what we obſerve in the Sea, there is equal reaſon to conclude, that much higher tides are raiſed of air in the Atmoſphere, than of water in the Sea: it has therefore been wondered at, why the mercury does not ſink by the Moon leſſening the gravity of the air as ſhe paſſes the Meridian. But in this caſe it is to be conſidered, that where the air is rendered lighter from this cauſe, a greater quantity is accumulated, until the deficiency of weight be made up by the height of the column. The equilibrium being thus maintained, the barometer can ſuffer no alteration by the aerial tides.

This ſubject naturally leads us to ſay ſomethi of the nature and cauſes of wind; the effects which are ſo ſalutary in preventing an unwholſo ſtagnation in the air, diſſipating noxious exhalatio and diſperſing putrid ſteams: and prove ſo uſeful man in wafting him over the pathleſs deep. Th thus in a wonderful manner promote an intercou between thoſe diſtant nations, which ſeem by intervention of vaſt Seas to be cut off by nature fr any communication with each other.

As the air is a fluid, its natural ſtate is reſt; wh it endeavours to maintain or retrieve, by a unive equilibrium of all its parts. Whenever, therefo this natural equipoiſe of the Atmoſphere happens any means to be deſtroyed, there neceſſarily enſ a motion of all the circumjacent air toward that p to reſtore it; and this motion or current of air what we call Wind.

Hence with reſpect to that place where the eq librium of the air is diſturbed, we can conceive wind may blow from every point of the compaſ one time; ſo that thoſe who live northward o may have a North wind, thoſe who live ſouthw a South wind, and ſo of the reſt; while thoſe w live on the ſpot where all theſe winds meet and in fere, are oppreſſed with turbulent boiſterous weat whirlwinds, hurricanes, and tempeſts. For ſulp reous exhalations from the South, torrents of n from the North, and aqueous vapours from ev part, are there confuſed and violently huddled blended together, and rarely fail to produce ve ment commotions of every kind.

Many are the cauſes which produce wind by turbing the equipoiſe of the Atmoſphere, the m general of which are heat and cold: heat, by rar

ing the air, makes it lighter in ſome parts than in others; and cold, by condenſing it, renders it heavier. Thus in all parts over the torrid zone, particularly the equatorial part, the air being rarefied by the direct incidence of the ſolar rays, is much lighter than other parts more northward and ſouthward. Therefore, ſince thoſe parts of the equator which are neareſt the Sun, muſt be moſt rarefied; which parts, by the earth's diurnal rotation eaſtward, are continually ſhifting to the weſtward; it follows, that the parts of the air which lie to the weſtward of the point of the greateſt rarefaction, and by flowing toward it meet it, have leſs motion than the air of the eaſtern ſide of the ſaid point, which follows it. The exceſs of motion in the eaſtern air, would generate a continual eaſterly wind, were this all the effect of that rarefaction. But it is alſo to be conſidered, that as all the equatorial parts of the Atmoſphere are greatly rarefied, by the Sun being vertical over it twice a year, and never being more than 23½ degrees diſtant on either ſide; and the air about the polar regions greatly condenſed by the extreme cold; this heavier air from each pole, is conſtantly flowing toward the equator, to reſtore the balance deſtroyed by the levity of the air there: hence in this reſpect alone, a conſtant North and South wind would be generated.

This motion compounded with the former eaſterly wind, accounts for all the phænomena of the general trade winds; which, if the whole ſurface of the globe was ſea, would undoubtedly blow quite round the world, as they are found to do in part, in the Atlantic and Ethiopic oceans. But (as in the caſe of the ſea tides before mentioned, where ſuch great continents interpoſe, and interrupt the continuity of the ocean; ſo in this caſe) ſuch chains of high mountains intervene, as occaſion great variation in the currents of wind from the general rule. For, if a country lying near

the Sun, prove to be flat, ſandy, and low land, as the deſerts of Lybia are deſcribed to be; the reflection of the Sun-beams, and the retention thereof in the ſand, are incredible; and the air in ſuch place will be exceedingly rarefied: the more cool and denſe air, will therefore ruſh in to reſtore the equilibrium. This is conjectured to be the cauſe why near the coaſt of Guinea, the wind always ſets in upon the land, blowing weſterly inſtead of eaſterly; there being ſufficient reaſon to believe, that the inland parts of Africa are prodigiouſly hot; ſince the northern borders thereof were ſo very intemperate, as to make the antients conclude, that all beyond the tropics was uninhabitable by exceſs of heat.

It is alſo from this cauſe, that there are ſuch conſtant calms, in that part of the ſame Ocean called the Rains: for this track being ſituated in the middle, between the weſterly winds blowing on the coaſt of Guinea, and the eaſterly trade-winds blowing to the weſtward thereof; the tendency of the air here, is indifferent to either, and ſo remains ſtagnant between both. And the weight of the incumbent atmoſphere being diminiſhed by the contrary winds blowing from hence, is the reaſon that the air does not hold the copious vapour it receives, but lets it fall in ſuch frequent rains.

But as the cold denſe air by its ſuperior weight, preſſes through the hot and rarefied; it is evident this latter muſt aſcend in a continued ſtream, as faſt as it rarefies; and that being aſcended, it muſt flow from the parts where the greateſt heat is, and diſperſe itſelf by a contrary current, to preſerve the equipoiſe. So that by a kind of circulation, the North-eaſt trade-wind below, will be attended with a South-weſterly wind above; and the South-eaſt below, with a North-weſt above.

This

This is proved to be more than mere conjecture by the ſudden change of the wind to the oppoſite point, which is often found in paſſing the limits of the trade-winds. But that which above all eſtabliſhes this hypotheſis, is the phænomenon of the Monſoons, which though eaſily accounted for from the above principles, hardly admits of explication by any other kinde of reaſoning.

Such a circulation of air then, being admitted, it is to be conſidered that to the northward of the Indian Ocean, it is every where Land within the latitude of 30°: viz. Arabia, Perſia, India, &c. which, from the ſame cauſe, are ſubject to unſufferable heats, as well as the interior parts of Africa, when the Sun is to the North and nearly vertical: but are temperate enough when the Sun is removed to the ſouthern Tropic, from a ridge of mountains at ſome diſtance within Land, ſaid to be frequently covered with ſnow in winter; by which the air muſt be greatly chilled in its paſſage. Thus it comes to paſs that the wind from the North-eaſt, is ſometimes hotter and ſometimes colder, than that which by this circulation is returned from the South-weſt; and of courſe, the under current of wind is ſometimes from the North-eaſt, and at other times from the South-weſt.

The times when theſe winds ſet in, ſufficiently indicate the cauſes of them; this is in April: when the Sun begins to warm theſe northern climes, the South-weſt Monſoons begin, and blow during the heats until October; when the Sun being retired, and the countries northward growing cooler, while the heat increaſes to the South, the North-eaſt winds commence and blow all the winter until April again. And from the ſame principle it muſt be, that to the ſouthward of the Equator, in part of the Indian Ocean, the North-weſt winds ſucceed to the South-eaſt, when the Sun approaches the tropic of Capricorn.

We might now proceed to give the preſent received hypotheſes accounting for ſeveral other phænomena; as rain, lightning, the aurora borealis, and other meteors; the properties of magnetiſm, the cauſes of earthquakes; with many other particulars equally curious: but theſe being rather ſubjects of natural hiſtory and philoſophy, would occupy too much of our room, and would be digreſſing farther than is neceſſary in an Introduction to a Collection of Voyages and Travels. It is hoped, what has already been enlarged upon concerning winds and tides, will not need an apology; as theſe phænomena have too general an influence over the marine and commercial tranſactions of mankind, and are too curious ſubjects of ſpeculation in themſelves, to eſcape notice in a review of the conſtitution of the Earth.

Leaving the ſcientifical leſs known diviſions of the Earth; we ſhall now, in a comparative view, conſider the ſeveral parts of it, under their more generally known denominations of Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America.

EUROPE is bounded on the North by the Frozen Ocean, on the Eaſt by Aſia, and the rivers Don, Wolga, and Oby, on the South by the Mediterranean, and on the Weſt by the great Atlantic Ocean; being about 3000 miles in length, and 2500 in breadth. It is the leaſt quarter, but the moſt conſiderable for the temperature of the air; the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil; and the cultivation of the arts and ſciences; but above all, for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion. It contains the following kingdoms and ſtates.

EUROPE.

	Kingdoms.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Dist. & Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Religions.
					Miles.	H. M.	
British Empire.	England	360	300	London	* * *	* * *	Lutherans
	Scotland	300	150	Edinburgh	270 N.	0 12 aft.	Calviniſts
	Ireland	300	150	Dublin	250 N W	0 26 aft.	Lutherans
	Norway	1000	300	Bergen	540 N.	0 24 bef.	Lutherans
	Denmark	240	180	Copenhagen	480 N E	0 50 bef.	Lutherans
	Sweden	800	500	Stockholm	750 N E	1 10 bef.	Lutherans
	Ruſſia	1500	1100	Peterſburg	1140 N E	2 4 bef.	Gr. Church
	Poland	700	680	Warſaw	760 E.	1 24 bef.	Papiſts
	Pruſſia	400	160	Berlin	540 E.	0 59 bef.	Lutherans
	Germany	600	500	Vienna	650 E.	1 5 bef.	Papiſts
Netherlands.	Holland	160	100	Amſterdam	150 E.	0 18 bef.	Calvin. with a gen. toleration.
	Flanders	180	150	Bruſſels	180 S. E.	0 16 bef.	Papiſts
	France	600	500	Paris	160 S. E.	0 9 bef.	Papiſts
	Spain	700	500	Madrid	690 S.	0 17 aft.	Papiſts
	Portugal	300	100	Liſbon	840 S W	0 38 aft.	Papiſts
	Switzerland	260	100	Bern	420 S. E.	0 28 bef.	alv & Pap
Italy.	Lombardy	Several ſmall States; Piedmont, Montferrat, Milan, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Venice, Genoa, Tuſcany, &c. Chief Towns are, Turin, Caſal, Milan, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Venice, Genoa, Florence.					
	Popedom	240	150	Rome	780 S. E	0 52 bef.	Papiſts
	Naples	270	180	Naples	870 S. E.	1 0 bef.	Papiſts
	Hungary	300	200	Buda	780 S. E.	1 17 bef.	Papiſts
Turkey in Europe.	Danubian Provinces	600	420	Conſtantinople.	1320 S. E.	1 58 bef.	Mahometans with ſome
	Lit. Tartary	380	240	Caffa	1500 E.	2 24 bef.	Jews and
	Greece	400	240	Athens	1320 S. E.	1 37 bef.	Chriſtians.

The

The Europeans in general are well made, and tolerably fair, except in Spain, where they begin to be ſwarthy. In dreſs, they are fond of imitating the French. The Turks wear their beards, turbants, and a long veſt tied with a ſaſh. The Turkiſh ladies dreſs much reſembles that of the men.

The iſlands of this quarter are, in the North,—Greenland, famous for its whale fiſhery.—And Iceland, in which is the burning mountain Hecla, ſuppoſed, by its frequent eruptions, to be the cauſe of the northern lights; it belongs, with the little iſles of Farro, together with thoſe of Zealand and Funen, &c. in the Baltic, to the crown of Denmark.—Near Great Britain, are the Shetland iſles, the Weſtern iſles, Orkneys, Man, Angleſea, Scilly, Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, ſubject to the Engliſh.—On the Weſt, are the Azores, nine in number, the chief, St. Michael; St. Maria, Tercera, and Graciöſia; which trade in wine and ſugar; and all belong to the king of Portugal.—In the Mediterranean Sea are Yvica, Majorca, belonging to Spain.—Minorca to England; and Corſica ſtruggling for independency.—Sardinia, a kingdom of itſelf.——Sicily belonging to the king of Naples, in which is the burning mountain Etna.——Malta belonging to its own governor, called the Grand Maſter.——Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zant, ſubject to the Venetians.——Cyprus, Candia, Rhodes, Patmos, and the cluſter of ſmall ones in the Archipelago, belonging to the Turks.

The principal mountains in this part of the world are the Dolphrino Hills, between Sweden and Norway;—the Hyperboræan Mountains in the north part of Muſcovy;—the Caparthian mountains in the ſouth part of Poland;—the Pyrenean hills between Spain and France;—the Alps between Italy and Germany;—the Appenine hills dividing Italy into Eaſt and Weſt; Veſuvius, a remarkable burning mountain

mountain near Naples;—the Peak in England;—Plinlimmon in Wales;—and Grampian and Cheviot hills in Scotland.

In this quarter, the moſt noted rivers are, the Thames, Severn, and Humber, in England;—Forth, Tay, and Tweed, in Scotland;—Shannon, Boyn, and Barrow, in Ireland;—Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, in Germany;—Weiſel, Neeſter, and Neeper, in Poland;—Tayo and Duero in Portugal;—the Ebro and Guadalquiver in Spain;—Tiber and Po in Italy;—Don, Wolga, and Dwina, in Ruſſia;—Seine, Loire, Rhone, and Garonne, in France; and the Danube, which runs all through Germany, Hungary, Turky in Europe, and empties itſelf into the Black Sea.

ASIA lies eaſt of Europe, is about 4800 miles long, and 4300 broad, bounded on the North by the Frozen Ocean, by the Pacific on the Eaſt, by the Red Sea on the Weſt, and the Indian Ocean on the South. In this quarter ſtood the temple of Diana, at Epheſus in Natolia, burnt the night Alexander the Great was born. Near to that ſtood the famous city Troy, totally deſtroyed by the Greeks, 1200 years before Chriſt. Here alſo ſtood the ſeven churches mentioned by St. John in the Revelations.——Alſo Tyre and Sydon, on the coaſt of the Holy Land, once vaſt cities of trade, but now the habitation of a few fiſhermen.—Likewiſe Sodom and Gomorrah, large cities recorded to have been deſtroyed by fire from heaven for their wickedneſs.—Alſo Nineveh and Babylon, great cities in Meſapotamia, near Bagdad, now the habitation of only wild creatures. In the Holy Land ſtood the famous city and temple of Jeruſalem, deſtroyed by Veſpaſian about 70 years after Chriſt. This was the theatre of almoſt every action recorded in the ſacred Scriptures. It is divided into many principal regions, whoſe names, extent, chief cities, &c. are as in the following table.

ASIA.

	Nations.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Dist. & Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Religions.
Tartary.	Ruſſian	The Bounds of theſe Parts are unlimited, each Power puſhing on his Conqueſts as far as he can.		Tobolſkoi	2160 N. E.	4 10 bef.	Chriſtians & Pagans
	Chineſe			Chynian	4480 N. E.	8 4 bef.	Pagans
	Mogulean			Tibet	3780 E.	5 40 bef.	Pagans
	Independant			Samercand	2800 E.	4 36 bef.	Pagans
	China	1440	1000	Pekin	4320 N. E.	7 24 bef.	Pagans
	Moguls	2000	1500	Dehli	3720 E.	5 16 bef.	Mahomet. & Pagans
	India	2000	1000	Siam or Pegu	5040 E.	6 44 bef.	Pagans
	Perſia	1600	1200	Iſpahan	2460 E.	3 20 bef.	Mahometans
Turky in Aſia.	Arabia	1300	1200	Meccha	2640 S. E.	2 52 bef.	Mahometans
	Syria	270	160	Aleppo	1860 E.	2 30 bef.	Chriſt. & Mahomet.
	Holy Land	210	90	Jeruſalem	1920 S. E.	2 24 bef.	Chriſt. & Mahomet.
	Natolia	750	308	Burſa or Smyrna	1440 S. E.	1 48 bef.	Mahometans
	Diarbeck, or Meſapotamia	560	310	Bagdad	2160 E.	2 56 bef.	Mahometans, with ſome few Chriſtians.
	Turcomania	360	300	Erzerum	1860 E.	2 44 bef.	
	Georgia	* * *	* * *	Teflis	1920 E.	3 10 bef.	

The

The Turks, Perſians, Moguls, and Chineſe, are of good ſhape and complexion: The men wear turbants, veſts, and ſlippers; the women dreſs much like the men, only they wear a ſtiffened cap like a mitre, and their hair down. The Mogul ladies are fond of bracelets on their arms and legs; rings on their fingers and toes; jewels in their noſes; and pendants in their ears: and the Chineſe ladies are remarkable for their little feet; and the gentlemen for long nails. In Siam, Pegu, &c. the inhabitants are tawney, and features coarſe. The men wear a piece of cloth wrapped round their waiſt, and pull their beards (as the Chineſe and Tartars do) up by the root. The women have, beſide the piece about their waiſt, another thrown round their breaſts and ſhoulders, leaving the reſt of the body bare. The common people near the ſea go almoſt naked.

The iſlands in Aſia are thoſe of Japan, as Japan itſelf, Tonſa and Bongo,—alſo Formoſa,—the Baſhee iſles, very ſmall—Aynan and Macco.—The Ladrone iſles, the chief Guam and Tinian.—The Philippine iſles 11,000 in number, chiefly ſmall ones; the principal are Luconia, Mindanao, and Tendaye.—The Moluccas or Clove iſlands, the chief Gilolo, Ceram, Macaſſar, Amboyna, and Banda, where the nutmegs grow.—The Sunda iſles, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, &c.—The Andaman and Nicobar iſles, all ſmall. The Maldives, many thouſands very ſmall, in the Indian Sea—and Ceylon, or fine Cinnamon iſle, near the coaſt of Coromandel.

Moſt of theſe iſlands lying near or under the Line, afford great quantities of ſugar and ſpice, which the Dutch trade with to all parts of the world.

The principal rivers in this quarter are the Tygris, and Euphrates, between Arabia and Perſia.—Tobol and Oby in Tartary.—Indus in the Mogul's empire.

Ganges

—Ganges in India,—the Hoambo or Yellow river in the North; and the river Tay, that runs by Canton, in the South of China.

The chief mountains here are, Ararat, near the Caſpian Sea, on which the ark is recorded to have reſted after the flood.—Horeb and Sinai in Arabia.—Lebanon in the Holy Land.—Mount Taurus running from Eaſt to Weſt of all Aſia.—Imaus, in Tartary,—Caucaſſus between Tartary and the Great Mogul's empire;—and the Naugracut mountains in Tibet.

AFRICA is the third quarter, ſituated to the South of Europe, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the Sea, except a narrow neck of land about 60 miles over (called the Iſthmus of Suez) which joins it to Aſia, at the top of the Red Sea. This country is about 4300 miles long, and 4200 broad, and lies chiefly in the Torrid Zone; the Equator running through the middle of it. Here we find a race of people quite black, having flat noſes, thick lips, and hair like wool. This quarter is generally divided as in the following table.

AFRICA.

	Nations.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Dist. & Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Religions.
Barbary.	Morocco	500	480	Fez	1080 S.	0 24 aft.	Mahometans
	Algiers	600	400	Algiers	920 S.	0 13 bef.	Mahometans
	Tunis	400	250	Tunis	990 S. E.	0 39 bef.	Mahometans
	Tripoli	700	240	Tripoli	1260 S. E.	0 56 bef.	Mahometans
	Barca	400	300	Tolemeta	1440 S E	1 26 bef.	Mahometans
	Egypt	600	250	Grand Cairo	1920 S. E	2 12 bef.	Mahometans
	Biledulgerid	2500	350	Dara	1565 S.	0 32 aft.	Pagans
	Zaara	2400	660	Tegeſſa	1840 S.	0 24 aft.	Pagans
	Negroland	2200	840	Madinga	2500 S.	0 38 aft.	Pagans
	Guinea	1800	360	Benin	2700 S.	0 20 bef.	Pagans
Up. Ethiopia.	Nubia	940	600	Nubia	2418 S. E.	2 42 bef.	Mah. & Pag.
	Abyſſinia	900	800	Gondar	2880 S. E.	2 20 bef.	Chriſtians
	Abex	540	130	Doncala	3580 S. E	2 36 bef.	Chriſt. & Pag.
The Middle Parts, called Lower Ethiopia, are very little known to the Europeans.							
Lower Guinea.	Loango	410	300	Loango	3300 S.	0 44 bef.	Chriſt. & Pag.
	Congo	540	420	St. Salvador	3480 S.	1 0 bef	Chriſt. & Pag.
	Angola	360	250	Loando	3750 S.	0 58 bef.	Chriſt & Pag.
	Benguela	420	180	Benguela	3900 S.	0 58 bef.	Pagans
	Matamam	450	240	No Towns	* * *	* * *	Pagans
	Ajan	900	300	Brava	3702 S. E.	2 40 bef	Pagans
	Zanguebar	1400	350	Melinda or Mozambique	4440 S. E	2 38 bef.	Pagans
	Monomotapa	960	660	Monomotapa	4500 S.	1 18 bef.	Pagans
	Monemugi	900	660	Chicova	4260 S.	1 44 bef.	Pagans
	Sofola	480	300	Sofola	4000 S. E.	2 18 bef	Pagans
	Terra de Nat.	600	350	No Towns	* * *	* * *	Pagans
	Caffaria or Hottentots	780	660	Cape of good Hope	5200 S.	1 4 bef.	Pagans

Along

Along the coaſts of the Mediterranean, in Egypt, Biledulgerid, and Zaara, the people are of a tawney complexion, and dreſs like the Turks: but in all other parts of this quarter, the inhabitants are black. The better ſort of negroes wear thin veſts and white caps, but the poor go almoſt naked, having only a ſmall piece of ſkin, or coarſe ſtuff, wrapped about their waiſt. The poor Hottentots, daubed over with greaſe and ſoot, and having their arms, legs, and neck wrapped round with the raw guts of beaſts, make a moſt deſpicable and naſty appearance.

The iſlands of this quarter are, Madagaſcar the largeſt; the inhabitants black, wild, ſavage, naked, and under no particular governor. The iſlands of Cape Verde, 10 in number. St. Vincent, St. Nicholas, Lucia, Antonia, Sal, Bonaviſta, Jago, Mayo, Bravo, and Fuego, all ſubject to the Portugueſe. ——The Canary iſlands, 14 in number, the chief, Teneriff, Ferro, and Canary, belonging to the crown of Spain.——The Madeira, noted for excellent wine, ſubject to the Portugueſe.——The Guinea iſles, as Princes, Po, Annobon, Thomas, Matthew, &c. belonging to the Portugueſe. And the iſles Aſcenſion and St. Helena belonging to the Engliſh.

The principal mountains here are, the Lybian mountain, between Zaara and Egypt;—Mount Atlas, between Barbary and Biledulgerid, which gives name to the neighbouring ocean, called the Atlantic Ocean.——The mountains of the Moon in Ethiopia, near the empire of Monemugi.——And the Pico or Peak, in Teneriff, one of the Canary iſles, in form of a ſugar loaf, ſuppoſed to be the higheſt in the world, and may be ſeen 40 leagues diſtant.

The moſt noted rivers here, are the Nile in Nubia and Egypt:——The Niger running through all Negroland:——The Gambia and Senegal, on which

the Engliſh and French have ſome ſettlements, are only branches of the Niger.

AMERICA is the laſt quarter of the world: it lies about 2300 miles weſt of England, and is of vaſt extent. Bounded on the North by unknown parts, by the Atlantic Ocean on the Eaſt, by the great South Sea on the South and Weſt. It is 8 or 9 thouſand miles in length, and about 3 thouſand in breadth. It was diſcovered firſt by Chriſtopher Columbus, as will appear anon. It is often called the Weſt Indies in contradiſtinction to the farther parts of Aſia, ſtiled the Eaſt Indies, diſcovered by the Portugueſe a little before. It is divided into two capital parts, of vaſt extent each, diſtinguiſhed into North America, and South America; which are connected by a narrow neck of land, called the Iſthmus of Darien, or of Panama, which in ſome places is not more than 60 miles over.

NORTH AMERICA is divided into theſe following Parts.

Nations.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Diſt. and Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Belongs to
Mexico or New Spain	2000	600	Mexico.	4900 N. W.	6 50 aft.	Spain
Granada, or New Mexico	Bounds undetermined.		St. Fee.	4320 N. W.	7 0 aft.	Spain
California	Bounds undetermined.		St. Juan.			Spain
Floiida	480	360	St. Auguſtine	3690 W.	5 24 aft.	England
Canada	1800	1260	Quebec	2760 N. W.	4 56 aft.	England
Louiſiana	1400	1000	Fort Louis	4080 N. W.	6 4 aft.	France and Spain
Britiſh Colonies	1383	300	Boſton	2760 W.	4 40 aft.	England

The

The Britiſh colonies or plantations are, 1. Nova-Scotia, the chief town Halifax.——2. New England, the chief town Boſton.——3. New York, the chief town New York.——4. New Jerſey, the chief town Elizabeth Town.——5. Penſilvania, the chief town Philadelphia.——6. Maryland, the chief town Baltimore.——7. Virginia, the chief town James Town.——8. Carolina, the chief town Charles Town.——And 9. Georgia, whoſe chief town is the Savannah.

The Indians here are generally of a brown complexion; the few that are white ſtain themſelves of a copper or red colour, and ſome with ſtreaks of blue. They are dexterous with their bows and arrows; and very fond of adorning themſelves with ſtrings of beads and ſhells about their necks, with rings and plates in their ears and noſes, and pull their beards up by the roots. They go naked in the ſummer, but in the winter cover themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts taken in hunting, which is their chief employ.

The principal iſlands are, Newfoundland, belonging to the Engliſh, famous for its fiſhery.—Bermudas or Summer Iſles, the property of Great Britain.—Cape Breton, Anticoſti, and St. John's, belonging to the Engliſh.—The Bahama Iſles, (many in number, but Providence only inhabited) belonging to the Engliſh.—The Antilles, as Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and Porto Rico, belonging to Spain, and Jamaica to the Engliſh.——The Carribbe Iſles, the chief St. Chriſtophers, Anguila, Antigua, Barbadoes, and the Grenades, belong to the Engliſh.—St. Martin, Bartholomew, Guadalupe, Marigalante, Martinico, belonging to the French.——Euſtatia and Saba, belonging to the Dutch,——and St. Thomas to the Danes.——Theſe iſlands produce vaſt quantities of

ſugar (in planting of which thouſands of negroes are employed) tobacco, pepper, yams, indigo, ginger, gums, dying-woods, cocoa, cotton, parrots, fiſh, turtles, and lignum vitæ.

The chief mountains here are, the Apalachean, between Carolina and Louiſiana. But in the North are vaſt unknown mountains perpetually covered with ſnow, from whence the winds blowing the greateſt part of the year, theſe countries become much colder than thoſe in Europe in the ſame latitude.

The moſt remarkable rivers are, St. Laurence, dividing the Engliſh plantations from Canada, and falling into the gulph of its own name.——The Miſſiſſippi, and the Ohio, in Louiſiana,——and the river North in New Mexico, which laſt empty themſelves into the Gulf of Mexico.

In

In SOUTH AMERICA are the following Nations.

Nations.	Length	Breadth	Chief City	Diſt. and Bearing from London	Diff. of Time from London	Belongs to
Terra Firma	1400	700	Panama	4650 W.	5 28 aft.	Spain
Peru	2000	600	Lima	5520 S. W.	5 4 aft.	Spain
Amazonia a very large Country, but little known to the Europeans. 1200 L. 960 B.						
Guiana	780	480	Surinam, Cayenne	3840 S. W.	3 44 aft.	Dutch and French
Braſil	2000	700	St. Salvador	6000 S. W.	3 44 aft.	Portugal
Paraguay	1500	1100	Aſſumption	5640 S. W.	3 52 aft.	Spain and the Jeſuits
Chili	1200	600	St. Jago	6600 S. W.	5 6 aft.	Spain
Terra Magellanica, or Patagonia	The Spaniards took poſſeſſion of it, but did not think it worth while to ſettle there.					

The Indians are generally of a good ſize, and well made: down to the tropic of Capricorn they are of a brown or copper complexion, but farther ſouth tolerably fair. They have little idea of religion. They have many odd cuſtoms; go for the moſt part naked, but paint themſelves of various colours; many of them wear large rings in their ears, chains of ſhells about their necks, and glittering ſtones or plates on their lip and noſes, permitting no hair to grow upon their chins. They uſe bows and arrows, ſtroll about and live by fiſhing and hunting, as they do in the northern parts.

The iſlands here are St. Catherines and Trinidad, off the coaſt of Braſil.—Chiloe and Juan Fernandes, near Chili,——and the large iſland Terra Del Fuego, (ſo called on account of its volcanoes or burning mountains) at the South of Magellanica; theſe all belong to Spain.——There are many more iſlands ſcattered about the Great South-Sea, but all uninhabited, and of no great account.

The chief mountains are, St. Martha in Terra Firma:——the Andes, which are ſaid to be the higheſt in the world: their tops are always covered with ſnow; and the cold ſo intenſe, that numbers have periſhed in going over them; and others have loſt their fingers and toes, and been lamed for ever. No beaſt of any kind is found upon them. They run through the whole length of South America.

The moſt remarkable rivers are, Oronoko, where the South Sea trade begins;—the vaſt river Amazon in Amazonia, and Rio de la Plata, or the river Plate, in Paraguay.

Of the leſs-known Parts of the World.

IN the North, near the Pole, are,—Nova Zembla —Greenland and Groenland. The inhabitants are very few, and theſe ſavage; low in ſtature, and of an ugly mien. They live upon the fleſh of whales, bears, foxes, rain-deer, and go muffled up in ſkins, the hairy ſide next their bodies. The Sun does not appear in theſe parts for three or four months together in the winter, and then the cold is ſometimes ſo intenſe as to freeze brandy. And in the ſummer, he ſhines as many months continually upon them, which makes the heat as troubleſome. Here alſo lie —New Britain—New North Wales—New Denmark, &c. in America——and Yeſdo, and Kamtſchatka, in Aſia, all very little known.

Below the Molucca iſles in Aſia—are New Guinea —Carpentaria—New Holland—Dieman's Land—— and a little further, New Zealand, regions diſcovered by the Dutch and Engliſh about the middle of laſt century. Our knowledge of them is very imperfect; the natives are ſaid to be wild, ſavage, black, and go naked.

It is generally believed that there are many large tracts of land towards the South Pole, of which at preſent we know nothing.

The Difference of the Miles in ſeveral Countries is very great; but it will be uſeful to remember, That

The Engliſh, Italian, and Turkiſh, are nearly the ſame.

The Scotch and Iriſh Miles are about 1¼ Engliſh.

The German, Daniſh, Dutch, and Poliſh, are about 4 Engliſh.

The Swediſh is about 5 Engliſh.
The Spaniſh is about $3\frac{1}{7}$ Engliſh.
The Hungarian is about 6 Engliſh.
The Ruſſian is about $\frac{1}{4}$ Engliſh.
The Perſian, Arabian, and Egyptian, are about 3 Engliſh.
The Indian is almoſt 3 Engliſh.
The Japan is about half a quarter of an Engliſh mile.
The French league is 2 of our miles.
The Engliſh league is 3 of our miles.

As a concluſion we will only add a few explanations; which, though the generality of our readers cannot be ſuppoſed to need, this Introduction might perhaps by ſome be thought deficient, if they were omitted.

The Earth being a globe, a Map of the whole Earth muſt neceſſarily conſiſt of two parts; one half only being viſible to one view of it: this Map exhibits therefore two hemiſpheres; as if the globe had been divided in the plane of the firſt meridian. Accordingly in an univerſal Map, the right hand circle ſhews the old world, containing Europe, Aſia and Africa; and the left hand circle contains the new world, or North and South America. Upon this Map are marked the circles correſponding to thoſe on the Sphere; namely the Equinoctial Line, the two Tropics, and the two Polar Circles; all which croſs the Map from Eaſt to Weſt. Parallels of Latitude, and Meridians, are drawn over the face of the Map at 10 degrees diſtance, to aſcertain the relative ſituation of places.

Particular Maps, as being part of this general Map, retain the Meridians and Parallels of Latitude belonging to the reſpective places, drawn larger or ſmaller as the ſize of the paper and ſcale will admit;

mit; and ſuch Maps are drawn and proportioned to ſcales correſponding to their degrees of latitude.

It is to be noted, that in all Maps, the North is at the top, the South at the bottom, the Eaſt on the right hand, and the Weſt on the left: or if it ſhould be otherwiſe, it is always expreſſed in words at the ſides; or by a mariner's compaſs, in which the fleur de lys always points to the North.

Degrees of Latitude are marked on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides of the Map; Degrees of Longitude on the North and South ſides, that is, on the top and bottom; to which the Parallels of Latitude, and Meridians or Circles of Longitude, which croſs each other over the face of the Map, correſpond.

The thick ſhadowed lines in Maps denote Sea coaſts; the courſes of rivers are ſhewed by thick ſerpentine lines, and roads, by ſmall double lines. Diviſions of countries are diſtinguiſhed by large dotted lines; and ſubdiviſions into provinces, by ſmaller: foreſts are denoted by trees; mountains by ſhadowed eminences; ſand banks by dotted beds; marſhes by ſhadowed beds; and lakes by inland ſhadowed coaſts, like the common Sea coaſts.

More minute particulars are expreſſed at the pleaſure of the Geographer, who generally gives an explanation of arbitrary ſigns and marks, at ſome vacant corner of the Map.

Explanation of nominal Terms, uſed in Geography.

A *Continent*, is a large extent of country, the connexion of which is not broken by the interpoſition of ſeas. The known world is uſually divided into two grand Continents; the one comprehending Europe,

rope, Aſia, and Africa; and the other including the two Americas, North and South.

An *Iſland*, is a track of land encompaſſed with water, which cuts it off from any communication with the main land. Such are Great Britain, Ireland, Minorca, Madagaſcar, Borneo, and an infinity of others.

An *Archipelago*, denotes a cluſter of ſmall iſlands; but is more peculiarly appropriated to a number of iſlands in the Egean Sea, between the coaſts of Greece and Aſia.

A *Peninſula (quaſi pene inſula*, or almoſt an iſland) or Cherſoneſus, (from the Greek of the ſame import) is a part of dry land almoſt ſurrounded by water; but connected to the main land, by a narrow neck of land. Such is the Morea in Greece.

An *Iſthmus*, is a narrow neck of land, connecting a peninſula to the continent: as that of Darien, which preſerves the communication, by land, between North and South America; and that of Corinth, which joins the Morea to the reſt of Greece.

A *Promontory*, is a high point of land ſtretching out into the Sea; the extremity of which is uſually called a *Cape*.

A *Volcano* is a burning mountain, a vent to ſubterranean fires, which makes occaſional eruptions of fire, calcined minerals, and boiling over with ſulphureous torrents. Such are Mounts Ætna in Sicily, Veſuvius near Naples, Hecla in Iceland, &c.

The *Ocean* is a collective name for that vaſt Sea which encompaſſes the whole Earth, and which obtains different names in different parts; as the Northern

Northern Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean, &c.

Some parts of the Ocean run up into the land, either through narrow channels, or wide mouths; the former are denominated *Seas*; as the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, &c. the latter are called Gulphs; as the gulph of Bothnia, the Gulph of Finland, the Gulph of Venice, &c.

A *Bay* is an arm or baſon of Sea, entering ſomewhat within land; a kind of leſſer gulph. The largeſt and moſt noted Bays in the world, are thoſe of Bengal, Panama, Biſcay, with many others.

A *Strait* is a narrow arm or channel communicating between two ſeas; or a paſſage between two iſlands, or lands. Such are the Straits of Gibraltar, of Magellan, the Helleſpont, &c.

A *Harbour* is generally uſed for the bottom of a bay, or the mouth of a large river, ſheltered from winds, and frequently ſecured with a mole, and booms, where ſhips may lie ſecurely at anchor.

A *Road* denotes a convenient place for anchorage, at ſome diſtance from ſhore, where veſſels uſually wait for winds to carry them out to ſea, or for tides to carry them into harbour.

A

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The FIRST VOYAGE of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

HOWEVER mankind differ in manners and modes of thinking, when diſtant ages and nations remote from each other, are compared together; the inventors of uſeful arts, and the diſcoverers of unknown countries, have ſeldom failed of receiving that tribute of honour which is due to diſtinguiſhed abilities. The name of Bacchus was firſt celebrated, and has been delivered down to us as a deity, on account of his Indian expeditions; and becauſe he penetrated farther than any man was ever known to have done before. The Egyptians, who were with reaſon eſteemed the wiſeſt people of antiquity, ſince almoſt all the ſciences travelled into this part of the world from thence, paid the higheſt tribute of praiſe to ſuch of their monarchs as were ſuppoſed to have conquered the Eaſt; and to have extended their empire over countries where, before that time, no victorious armies had ever come. It was for the ſame cauſe that the Tyrian Hercules was ſo much magnified by his countrymen; and it was the glory which thoſe heroes had acquired, that

prompted

prompted Alexander, the moſt ambitious and daring of the Greeks, to undertake his famous expedition againſt the Indians, that he might not fall ſhort of any whoſe names were recorded in hiſtory. This vanity of his tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that though, after the ruin of the Perſian empire, he eſteemed himſelf the firſt of men; yet, on his framing the project of invading India, he expected to be eſteemed ſomewhat more than man. In ſucceeding times, we find this humour far from being worn out, ſince even the Romans, who, if not a wiſer, were moſt certainly a more moderate people than the Greeks, regarded the invaſion of Britain by Julius Cæſar, as the moſt glorious of his actions, and that which redounded moſt to the honour of their empire.

Upon the ſame principle the famous emperor Trajan was ſo extremely deſirous of emulating the example of Alexander, and carrying the terror of the Roman arms into countries which their anceſtors never knew. But, the notion of puſhing conqueſts in this manner, however it may dazzle the eyes of the admiring multitude, carries in it nothing ſo truly noble as the project of diſcovering countries far removed from other parts of the world by vaſt tracks of ſea; and rendering them mutually uſeful by their reſpective productions: and though in purſuing this train of reflexions with reference to the diſcovery of America, it is impoſſible not to be checked on recollecting the horrid pious butcheries acted by the avaritious Spaniards among innocent nations curſed with the arrival of ſuch infernal miſſionaries; yet it is hoped the extenſion of commerce, manufactures, and knowledge of every kind, among the coloniſts and natives of the northern parts of that vaſt continent, and that glorious ſpirit of freedom which breathes in the provincial aſſemblies, and promiſes a growth of ſtrength and proſperity, the utmoſt extenſion of which it is impoſſible to foreſee; it is hoped this Britiſh contraſt to Spaniſh miſ-

taken policy, may, in its conſequences, diſpoſe the future generations of mankind, for the credit of humanity, to forget the miſeries ſuffered by the paſt. But to return from this almoſt unavoidable digreſſion.

The antients were under an abſolute incapacity of making great diſcoveries by ſea for many reaſons, but particularly becauſe they had no juſt notion of the figure of the earth: they were very indifferent aſtronomers, eſpecially with regard to the practical part of that ſcience; and were able to make no voyages of conſequence for want of knowing the wonderful directive property of the loadſtone.

But the great imperfection of the antient navigation was the not being able to ſolve that neceſſary problem, the finding in any place the four cardinal points, and ſuch intermediate ones as were neceſſary; without doing which, it was ſimply impoſſible to ſail far: they therefore durſt not truſt themſelves into the wide ocean, but coaſted only along the ſhores, that they might by ſome ſigns know where they were. In the day-time indeed they were able to find the North and South, or a meridian line, by the Sun's riſing and ſetting; beſide which they had three other methods. 1. By the ſtars at night, particularly the Little Bear, and the ſtar in its tail, called the Pole Star, which was much famed with antiquity, and ſerved to ſhew them the North, and thereby all other points. For, turning their face to it, the Eaſt was on the right, the Weſt on the left, and the South behind; and they had a circle with the points on it; and, bringing the North and South point to the meridian line, the other points were ſeen at once. Another method they had was by knowing the ſituation of the ſhores, and of one promontory from another: for when one point was thus known, either from the maps, or by obſervation and experience, they could in ſailing find the reſt. But then they could not go far from the ſhores, which directed them as to theſe points; as they could

could not at all times uſe the ſun and ſtars for that end. A third method they uſed was by obſerving the points they had run in; for knowing how they firſt directed the ſhip, and how much they turned again their courſe from that point, they knew the other points. From whence the reaſon appears of their imperfect and dangerous ſailing; viz. their not knowing the points in the wide ocean, ſo as to tell how to ſteer. This third method, by obſerving the ſhip's courſe, is of no uſe when the ſhip is turned to a great many points by the violence of the winds and waves. Such were their methods of finding the meridian lines, which were ſo imperfect, that they durſt never truſt themſelves in the vaſt ocean; it is no wonder therefore that they never knew America.

The application of the properties of magnetiſm to the conſtruction of the compaſs had brought about conſiderable changes in the art of navigation, before any attempt was made to diſcover new countries by ſailing weſtward; for there were great difficulties to be overcome, before any deſign of that ſort could be accompliſhed. The veſſels in uſe at thoſe times were very unfit for long voyages, in point of form, capacity, and ſtrength. The ſeamen had very little experience, were naturally inclined to coaſting, and knew not enough of their art to be clearly ſatisfied what could, or what could not, be performed by it. Add to all this, that their ſkill conſiſted rather in practiſing what they had ſeen before, than in the knowledge of any ſettled principle of ſcience, capable of directing them in any extraordinary caſes that might happen in time to come. Their obſervations were far from being exact; partly from the meanneſs of their inſtruments, and partly from the narrowneſs of their notions about the uſe of them.

Nevertheleſs, many years before the voyages of Columbus, and under all the diſadvantages beforementioned, a diſcovery of America is ſuppoſed to have been made by ſome adventurers from this iſland;

land; if any claim can now be made to a diſcovery by perſons who were themſelves totally loſt. The ſtory however, as it is the earlieſt in point of time, ſeems to merit a relation as well as any other. It aſſerts that Madoc, prince of Wales, was the firſt diſcoverer of America, and the detail of his expedition runs thus. He flouriſhed in the twelfth century, and was ſon of Owen Guynneth, prince of North Wales; his brethren raiſing a civil war about the diviſion of his father's dominions, he choſe rather to go to ſea with a few of his friends, and ſeek out new habitations, than run the hazard of what might happen in this diſpute. Accordingly, about the year 1170, ſteering due Weſt, and leaving Ireland on the North, he came to an unknown country; where he ſettled a colony; and, returning thence into Wales, carried a ſecond ſupply of people, but was never heard of more.

That the country he went to was really America, is more, perhaps, than can be proved; but that this tale was invented after the diſcovery of that country, on purpoſe to ſet up a prior title, is moſt certainly falſe. Meredith ap Rees, who died in 1477, and was a famous Welch poet, compoſed an ode in honour of this Madoc, wherein was contained an account of his diſcoveries. Now as this was ſeveral years before Columbus made his firſt voyage, we may be ſure that this was really a Britiſh tradition, and no tale of late contrivance.

Others again have endeavoured to prove that it was not America, but Groenland, to which our Welch prince ſailed. In proof of which they have obſerved that this country was well known in the ninth and tenth centuries, though it was afterward loſt. But neither does this ſtory anſwer that purpoſe; for, it is evident, the courſe does by no means agree with it; ſince, if he had ſailed to that country, he could not have left Ireland to the North. In a very ingenious diſcourſe upon this ſubject, it is ſuggeſted, that prince Madoc landed in ſome part

of Florida; that, in proceſs of time, the colony he planted there proceeded round by land, and reached the northern parts of Mexico, which country they conquered, and were thoſe foreign anceſtors of the Mexicans, of whom we have heard ſo much from the Spaniſh writers that have recorded the adventures of Cortes. To ſtrengthen which ſuppoſition it is aſſerted, that ſeveral Britiſh words have been diſcovered in the old Mexican language.

All this however can be little more than mere conjecture, to which there are no bounds when once indulged; but the probability of his ſailing or being driven to ſome part of America, may nevertheleſs be very readily admitted: and this probability is not by any means diſcredited by no certain traces of them being found, on our better acquaintance with the new world. In thoſe unlettered ages, before the invention of the compaſs, before the invention of printing, and before the invention of gunpowder, the Welch could ſcarcely be more civilized than the Americans they are ſuppoſed to have found out; and had very few advantages of any kind to boaſt over them. Prince Madoc can hardly be imagined to have taken any great number of men with him in thoſe early days of navigation; and if his men incorporated with the natives, and diſperſed, there is no wonder that the memory of their arrival ſhould have worn away, where no written records ſubſiſted: whereas if the natives deſtroyed them, there was a ſhorter period put to their memories altogether. Add to which, that it is extremely probable Madoc might be caſt away in his ſecond voyage; or not be able to ſteer back to his new colony. In either caſe both the diſcoverers and the diſcovery were altogether loſt to their country.

That an event ſo extraordinary ſhould not excite to any attempts either from England or Wales, toward following or finding out their hardy countrymen and their new ſettlement; is only to be accounted

ed for from the rude ignorance and ſupine poverty of thoſe times; when the human mind was too contracted to find any internal ſtimulation toward diſcoveries and improvement. The ſmall degree of learning which then exiſted was only to be found in cloiſters among eccleſiaſtics; by whom it was exerciſed and employed in the embarraſſing diſtinctions, and unmeaning ſubtilties of the ſchools. They were however at laſt rouſed from their uſeleſs ſpeculation by the diſcovery of the compaſs, which opened the way to the invention of inſtruments, and the calculation of tables for facilitating the methods then uſed in making celeſtial obſervations.

Aſſiſted by theſe inventions, mankind began to adventure the croſſing unknown ſeas; and the ſucceſs of their firſt voyages encouraged them to attempt further diſcoveries. The Portugueze coaſted along great part of Africa, and took the iſland of Madeira, with thoſe of Cape de Verde.

But theſe attempts were only preludes to the ſcheme of Chriſtopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, who undertook to extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world. The juſt idea that this great man had formed of the figure of the earth gave birth to his deſign; but the maps, more erroneous than his conjecture, made him miſtake the object. He propoſed to find a paſſage to China and India, by croſſing the Weſtern Ocean. Venice and Genoa were then almoſt the only trading powers in Europe; and they had no other ſupport of their power but their commerce: this occaſioned a rivalſhip, a jealouſy, and divers wars between them; but Venice was in trade far ſuperior: ſhe had drawn to herſelf almoſt the whole commerce of India, always one of the moſt valuable in the world, and then carried on only by way of Egypt and the Red-ſea. An emulation of this kind might probably put Columbus on finding another and more direct paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, and by that means, of transfer-

ring this profitable trade to his own country. But neither what he ſought, nor what he found, were deſtined for Genoa; he however performed the duty of a good citizen, and made his firſt propoſal at home, where it was rejected. Diſcharged of this obligation, he applied to the court of France, and meeting with no better ſucceſs there, he ſent his brother Bartholomew to Henry the Seventh, who then filled the throne of England; but Bartholomew being taken and plundered by pirates in his paſſage, was, on his arrival at London, reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his Majeſty, till by drawing and ſelling charts, he acquired ſome reputation, and put himſelf into ſuch an equipage as was neceſſary for his obtaining acceſs to the king. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired, and actually entered into an agreement with Henry VII. on behalf of his brother, ſeveral years before Chriſtopher cloſed with their Catholic Majeſties.

In the mean time, Chriſtopher applied in perſon to the court of Portugal, where his offers were rejected, and he himſelf inſulted and ridiculed; but he found in theſe inſults and this ridicule, a new incitement to purſue his ſcheme, urged forward by the ſtings of anger and reſentment.

He now repaired to Caſtile, and offered his ſervice to Ferdinand and Iſabella, where he exerciſed his intereſt and his patience for eight years. There is a ſort of enthuſiaſm in all projectors abſolutely neceſſary for the accompliſhment of their ſchemes, which renders them proof againſt the moſt fatiguing delays, the moſt ſhocking inſults, and, what is ſeverer than all, the preſumptuous judgment paſſed by the ignorant on their deſigns. Columbus had a ſufficient ſhare of this quality; but his patience was at laſt quite exhauſted, and he had actually taken his leave of Ferdinand and Iſabella, in order to proceed

ceed for England in queſt of his brother, of whoſe fate he remained entirely ignorant. He was however unexpectedly recalled by the queen of Caſtile, at the earneſt perſuaſion of Lewis de Saint Angelo her confeſſor, who prevailed upon her to comply with the demands of Columbus, and even lent her money to promote the expedition.

Chriſtopher was immediately appointed admiral on the ocean, to enjoy all the appointments, prerogatives, and privileges annexed to the flags of Caſtile and Leon in their reſpective ſeas. It was alſo agreed, that all civil employments in the iſlands and continent to be diſcovered ſhould be wholly at his diſpoſal; that all governments ſhould be given to one of thoſe perſons he ſhould name; that he ſhould appoint judges in Spain for Indian affairs; that over and above the ſalary and perquiſites of admiral, viceroy, and governor, he ſhould have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found, or acquired within the limits of his admiralſhip, after the charge of the conqueſt ſhould be defrayed; together with an eighth part of all that he ſhould bring home in his fleet; in conſideration of which, he ſhould be at one eighth part of the expence.

As ſoon as theſe preliminaries were adjuſted, and his commiſſion and grants confirmed by their Catholic Majeſties, he repaired to Palos, in order to forward his equipment, which conſiſted of three ſmall veſſels, the *Santa Maria*, admiral Columbus, the *La Pinta*, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the *La Nina* with ſquare ſails, under the command of his brother Vincent Yanez Pinzon, both natives of Palos.

This ſmall fleet being furniſhed with proviſion, neceſſaries, and manned with ninety men, ſailed on Saturday the 3d day of Auguſt, 1492; but next morning the rudder of the La Pinta broke looſe, ſo that the admiral was obliged to lie to, though the weather was ſo rough that the only aſſiſtance he could give, was that of encouraging the crew by

his preſence. However, Pinzon the captain, who was an able ſeaman, ſoon repaired the damage, which was ſuppoſed to have been contrived by the maſter, who was averſe to the voyage; and they proceeded tolerably well till Tueſday, when the ropes by which the rudder had been ſecured gave way, and they were forced again to lie by, until they had ſupplied the defect, ſo as to ſteer the ſhip as far as the Canary Iſlands, which they diſcovered on Thurſday about break of day. Some of the ſuperſtitious ſailors interpreted this accident as an ill omen; but Columbus wiſely obſerved, that no omen could be evil where people were engaged in a good deſign: and, in order to divert their attention from ſuch unmanly trifles for the future, he inſtructed them in the principles of navigation and geography.

Columbus waited a conſiderable time to purchaſe another veſſel; but, being diſappointed, he reſolved to repair the damaged caraval by furniſhing her with a new rudder, and at the ſame time to alter the ſquare ſails of the La Nina, that ſhe might be the more able to keep company with her conſorts for the future.

Having thus refitted and improved his fleet, the admiral left the Grand Canaira on the firſt of September, and next day arrived at Gomera, where ſome time being ſpent in laying in proviſions, wood, and water, they ſet ſail on Thurſday the 6th, and ſtood away to the weſtward, with very little wind. On Sunday about day-break the admiral found himſelf nine leagues weſt of the iſland of Ferro, where they loſt ſight of land, and many people on board wept bitterly, from an apprehenſion they ſhould never ſee it more. Columbus perceiving this deſpondence, which he was afraid would infect the whole company, comforted them with the moſt confident aſſurances of wealth and proſperity, and though they ſailed eighteen leagues that day, pretended they had

had made no more than fifteen, reſolving to diſguiſe his reckoning in this manner during the whole voyage, that thoſe ſpiritleſs mortals might not think themſelves ſo far as they really were from Spain.

On Wedneſday the 12th of September, being 150 leagues weſt of Ferro, the admiral diſcovered the body of a large tree, which ſeemed to have been a long time floating on the water. Here he found a current ſetting ſtrongly to the north-eaſt; and when he had run fifty leagues farther weſtward, he, on the 13th, in the twilight, perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-eaſt, and at day-break half a point more. He was greatly ſurpriſed by this variation, which had never been obſerved before; but he had reaſon to be ſtill more amazed, when ſailing about 100 leagues farther, he found the needles varied about a point to the north-eaſt at night, and in the morning pointed directly north.

On the 14th the people on board the La Nina had been ſurpriſed at ſight of a heron and tropic bird: but the next day they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when they ſaw the ſea, in a manner, covered with green and yellow weeds, which ſeemed to have been lately waſhed away from ſome rock or iſland. This phenomenon gave them reaſon to conclude that they were near ſome land, eſpecially as they perceived a live lobſter floating among theſe weeds; and afterwards found the ſea water grow leſs ſalt as they advanced: vaſt ſhoals of tunny fiſh alſo attended their fleet.

The 18th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the Pinta, being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and informed him, that he had ſeen a great number of birds flying to the weſtward, ſo that he expected that night to diſcover land, which indeed he thought was already viſible at about fifteen leagues diſtant to the northward. But the admiral was convinced of its being a deception, and therefore would loſe no time in altering his courſe, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of his people, who were very well

...ceable illuſion. How-
...when, they took in their
...e 19th of September, in
...seeing a number of ſea-gulls,
...s of land, from which he ſup-
...not fly a great way: he there-
...ound no bottom with a line of
...ever, he perceived the current now
...t. Three days after they took a
...ſaw abundance of weeds, and in
...viſited by three land birds ſinging,
...at day-break, and confirmed the ad-
...opinion that he could not be far from
...day, they ſaw a tropic bird, and ſuch a
...weeds, as alarmed the people, who be-
...that their courſe would be impeded.
...wind now blew from the ſouth-weſt, which
...contrary, gave Columbus great ſatisfaction,
...would now convince the crew of the vanity of
...ars, in ſuppoſing, that as the wind had been
...right a-ſtern, they ſhould never have a fair
...to carry them back to their own country. But
...ſpight of all his reaſons and remonſtrances, the
...crew began to murmur, from an apprehenſion of
...periſhing at ſea, in queſt of a country which in all
probability had no exiſtence; and their diſcontent
...rose to ſuch a height, that a mutiny would certainly
have enſued, had not a briſk wind ſprung up at weſt-
north-weſt, and demonſtrated that they would always
have a chance for returning, notwithſtanding the in-
ſinuations of ſome, who had affirmed that the firſt
change was no ſettled breeze, but a tranſient puff,
which made no impreſſion upon the ſurface of the
ſea. At the ſame time their hopes of diſcovering land
were revived, by the ſight of a dove that flew over
the ſhip, and ſeveral ſmall birds that came from the
weſt.

But the mortification of the people was greater in proportion as they had been elated by theſe ſigns,

when

when they found themſelves diſappointed: and now, they not only loudly complained, but even began to cabal againſt the admiral, who they ſaid, from a fooliſh and ill-grounded notion, had formed the deſign of raiſing his own family and fortune at their expence. They declared that they had already proceeded far enough to demonſtrate their courage and perſeverance, and that it was now high time to return to their friends and country, even though force ſhould be neceſſary to obtain the admiral's conſent. It was even actually propoſed to throw him overboard, and to declare at their return, that while he was eagerly employed in making obſervations, he caſually dropped into the ocean.

This ſpirit of mutiny among the ſailors was not unknown to Columbus, who exerted uncommon addreſs in quelling it; ſometimes by repreſenting the duty they owed to him, who was veſted with a legal authority, which he was reſolved to maintain at the hazard of his life; and ſometimes by reproaching them with their impatience and puſillanimity, which even the moſt apparent ſigns of land could not remove. In a word, he demonſtrated the folly of their fears, ſoothed the anxiety of their minds, and encouraged their hopes, in ſuch a manner as prevented them from taking any reſolution to the prejudice of the enterprize.

On the 25th day of September, about ſun-ſetting, Pinzon, whoſe ſhip was a-head of the admiral, all of a ſudden, called out, Land! land! and pointed towards the ſouth-weſt, where they perceived ſomething like an iſland, about twenty-five leagues diſtant: this appearance was ſo agreeable to the men, that they gave thanks to God with great fervency of devotion; and though Columbus was perſuaded it was nothing more than a deception, yet, in compliance with their clamorous demand, ſtood towards the ſuppoſed iſland, during the beſt part of the night; but in the morning they ſaw it vaniſh in the clouds,

returned, and they re-
the admiral however per-
purpoſe, with a ſteadi-
to himſelf Three days
currents were altogether ir-
ta they ſaw ſome gulls, and

O October, the pilot of the ad-
account 578 leagues weſt of the
through the reckoning of Columbus.
. On the third, ſeeing no birds,
that they had paſſed between ſome
the men earneſtly entreated the admiral
to the one ſide or the other in queſt
they imagined they had left: but he re-
ply with their intreaties, being unwilling
the favourable wind that carried him to the
, which he accounted his ſureſt courſe, and
not take any ſtep to leſſen the reputation of
undertaking, which muſt have ſuffered in the
eſtimation of his people, had he changed his courſe
to that which he had all along aſſured them would
terminate in the accompliſhment of their wiſhes.
This fortitude of the admiral they interpreted into
obſtinacy and madneſs, and were actually on the brink
of taking ſome deſperate ſtep to his prejudice, when
their fury was appeaſed by the arrival of above forty
ſparrows, and ſome other land birds that came from
the weſtward, and flew over their fleet.

On the 7th of October, ſome imperfect ſigns of land appeared in that quarter, but no man on board would venture to mention it, becauſe their catholic majeſties, who had promiſed a penſion of thirty crowns for life, to him who ſhould firſt diſcover land, had likewiſe decreed, that whoſoever ſhould cry land! three days before it was actually made, ſhould forfeit the reward, even though it ſhould afterwards prove that he was really the firſt perſon who perceived it. But notwithſtanding this precaution, the Nina, which being

being the beſt ſailer, kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoiſted her colours, in token of land; but the farther they ſailed, the more they were convinced of their miſtake; for the appearance that miſled them totally vaniſhed as they advanced. Next day, however, they were in ſome meaſure conſoled for their diſappointment, by flights of large fowl and ſmall land birds flying towards the ſouth-weſt: and the admiral being fully perſuaded that they could not go far to ſea, he in imitation of the Portugueſe, who had diſcovered many iſlands by following the direction of ſuch birds, altered his courſe and ſtood to the ſouth-weſt, having now run 750 leagues to the weſtward of the Canaries.

On the 8th of October they were viſited by twelve ſinging birds, of different colours, and ſaw a great number of jays, gulls, and ducks, flying towards the ſouth-weſt; they likewiſe perceived the air to be freſh and odoriferous, as at Sevil in the month of April: but the crew had been ſo often deceived, that even theſe certain ſigns could not ſuppreſs their murmurs, which, during the two ſucceeding days, increaſed to ſuch a degree, in ſpite of all the efforts of the admiral, that he would not have been able much longer to withſtand the ſtorm, which was ready to burſt upon his head, had not ſuch evident tokens of their being near the land appeared, as could not be diſputed but by the moſt obſtinate and incredulous among them.

On the 11th of October, thoſe on board of the admiral ſaw a green ruſh, together with a large rock fiſh, ſwim by the ſhip; the people of the Pinta diſcovered a cane floating, and took up a ſtaff curiouſly wrought, together with a ſmall board, and abundance of weeds, newly waſhed from the banks on which they grew. A branch of thorn full of red berries was alſo at the ſame time perceived by the crew of the Nina.

Being therefore now aſſured of the vicinity of land, the admiral harangued his men at night, after prayers, reminding

reminding them of the mercy of God, in granting them fair weather during ſuch a long voyage, and exhorting them to be extremely vigilant for that night, as he firmly expected to ſee land next day; and in order to encourage them, not only mentioned the penſion of thirty crowns, but alſo promiſed to give a velvet doublet to him who ſhould be the firſt diſcoverer. After this ſpeech, he, about ten o'clock at night, retired to the great cabbin, from whence perceiving what he imagined to be a light on ſhore, he called to one Peter Gutierres, who ſoon plainly ſaw it, and conjectured it to be a candle or torch belonging to ſome fiſherman or traveller, becauſe it ſeemed to move, vaniſh, and appear by turns. This increaſed their vigilance and caution, though they ſtill held on their courſe till about two in the morning, when the Pinta being far a-head gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt diſcovered by a ſailor, called Roderick de Triana, at the diſtance of two leagues: but the penſion was granted to the admiral, who had perceived the light ſome hours before. The ſhips now all lay to, and the people waited for morning with the utmoſt impatience, that they might feaſt their eyes with viewing an object ſo long and ſo ardently deſired.

Nor were they now diſappointed; for the dawn no ſooner appeared, than they perceived an iſland, about fifteen leagues in length, almoſt one continued plain, covered with trees, ſupplied with delicious ſtreams, and having a large lake in the middle. It was inhabited by a number of people, who ran down to the ſhore aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the ſhips, which they at firſt miſtook for living creatures. In the mean time, the Spaniards were inflamed by the moſt eager curioſity, to know the particulars of this intereſting diſcovery: and the veſſels were no ſooner brought to an anchor, than the admiral went aſhore with his boat well armed, and the royal ſtandard diſplayed, attended

tended by the other two captains in their reſpective boats, with the particular enſigns of this enterprize.

They were no ſooner landed than they kneeled on the ſhore, giving thanks to God for his indulgence, and kiſſed the ground with tears of joy. The admiral then ſtanding up, called the iſland St. Salvador*, and took poſſeſſion of it for their catholic majeſties, with the ſolemnity proper on ſuch occaſions. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy, by the Spaniards, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and inſults he had ſuſtained from their fear and want of reſolution, and readily ſwore to obey him as the repreſentative of their catholic majeſties.

A multitude of the Indians being preſent at the tranſaction, and appearing to be very ſimple, quiet, and peaceable, Columbus diſtributed among them ſome red caps, ſtrings of glaſs beads, and other things of ſmall value, which they received with tranſport; and when he returned to his ſhip, ſome of them ſwam after him, and others followed in canoes with parrots, bottoms of ſpun cotton, javelins, and other trifles, to barter for beads, bells, and other inconſiderable toys. Few of them ſeemed to be above the age of thirty. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, generally cut ſhort above the ears, though ſome let it grow down to their ſhoulders, and tied it about their head like the treſſes of women: their countenances were open, and their features regular; but their high foreheads gave a wildneſs to their aſpect. The faces of ſome, and bodies of others, were painted black, white, and red; and all of them, female as well as male, were ſtark naked. So little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked ſword by the edge, without ſuſpecting its miſchievous quality; they uſed javelins of wood, armed

* Now known by the name of Cat-iſland.

with

[redacted] totally deſtitute of iron. And [redacted] obſerving that they had marks of [redacted] ſome of them were aſked by [redacted] were acquired? They anſwered, [redacted] in language, that they received [redacted] violence, againſt the inhabitants of [redacted] who came with a view to enſlave them. [redacted] were an ingenious people, and poſſeſſed [redacted] tongue, ſo as to repeat the words they [redacted] very diſtinct pronunciation.

[redacted] morning being the 13th of October, a [redacted] number of theſe Indians came aboard in their [redacted] which are made by hollowing the trunk of a [redacted] ſome of them being ſo ſmall as to hold one per[redacted], and others large enough to contain forty: [redacted] were rowed with paddles, and ſo light, that if [redacted] chance to be overſet, the rowers could eaſily turn [redacted] again, and empty the water with calabaſhes, [redacted] for that purpoſe they always carried with [redacted].

Theſe Indians had neither jewels nor any kind of [redacted], except ſome ſmall plates of gold that hung at [redacted] noſtrils, and as they expreſſed by ſigns, came from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, where there were many princes, iſlands, and countries.

At the ſame time they were ſo fond of poſſeſſing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that if they could pick up a bit of broken earthen ware upon the deck, they would leap into the ſea and ſwim aſhore with it. They were ready to exchange any thing they had for the greateſt trifles, and ſome of them gave five and twenty pounds of well ſpun cotton for three ſmall pieces of Portugueſe braſs coin not worth a farthing; not that they believed the things they purchaſed were of any intrinſic value, but becauſe they were deſirous of preſerving ſome memorial of thoſe white men, whom they looked upon as people deſcended from heaven.

On the 14th of October, the admiral in his boats coaſted the iſland toward the north-weſt, until he found a large bay or harbour, large enough to contain all the ſhips of Europe. He was attended by multitudes of the inhabitants, expreſſing their wonder and regard by a thouſand geſticulations. At length the admiral arrived at a peninſula, where he ſaw half a dozen of their houſes and plantations, as pleaſant as thoſe of Caſtile in the month of May. But, finding this was not the land he looked for, he took ſeven of theſe Indians to ſerve as interpreters, and returning to his ſhips ſailed on the diſcovery of other iſlands viſible from the peninſula.

The next day, after ſailing ſeven leagues, he arrived at the weſt end of one of theſe iſlands, about ten leagues in length, which he denominated St. Mary of the Conception; but, perceiving no difference between the inhabitants of this iſland and thoſe of St. Salvador, nor any thing worth notice in its productions, he continued his courſe weſtward, and anchored upon the coaſt of a much larger iſland, extending north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, above eight and twenty leagues. Before he reached this pleaſant ſpot, which he named Fernandina, he took up an Indian in a ſmall canoe, furniſhed with a piece of their bread, a calabaſh full of water, and a little earth like vermilion, with which thoſe people paint their bodies; he was likewiſe provided with ſome dry leaves, valued for their agreeable and wholeſome ſmell; and a little baſket, containing a ſtring of glaſs beads, and two ſmall pieces of Portugueſe money; from which circumſtances it appeared he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernandina, with the ſtrange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long, he was weary with paddling, and deſired to be taken on board. Columbus granted his requeſt, treated him courteouſly, and ſent him on ſhore, that he might prepoſſeſs the natives of Fernandina in favour of the Spaniards. The ſucceſs anſwered the admiral's expectation;

pectation; for, in conſequence of the favourable account given by the Indian, the iſlanders came aboard in their canoes, to barter with the ſame ſort of commodities found at St. Salvador; but they ſeemed to have more ſagacity than the other, and made more advantageous bargains: they had ſome cotton cloth in their houſes, and the women wore a kind of ſhort petticoat or ſwathe round the middle. Here were ſome trees that ſeemed to have been ingrafted, as they bore leaves or branches of four or five ſeveral ſorts: there was plenty of fiſh, of different ſhapes and colours, lizards, and ſnakes, and ſome dogs, which however did not bark; their houſes were built like tents, almoſt entirely void of furniture; and the beds in which they lay, were like nets hanging from two poſts. Columbus, finding nothing valuable in this iſland, ſailed on the 19th of October to another, on which he beſtowed the name of Iſabella, in honour of her catholic majeſty. This far exceeded the others in goodneſs, beauty, and extent. It abounded with delicious ſtreams, pleaſant meadows and groves, and the proſpect was finely diverſified with hills, which the reſt wanted. The admiral, enamoured of its beauty, landed to perform the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion, and walked through ſome meadows as green and delightful as thoſe of Spain in the month of April. Here the ear was raviſhed with the ſongs of nightingales and other birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew through the air in ſuch ſwarms as darkened the day. Near one of the lakes, of which there was great plenty, the Spaniards, with their ſpears, killed an alligator ſeven feet long, which though at that time they looked upon with horror, they afterwards ſkinned and ate, being the moſt delicious food uſed among the Indians, by whom they are called *yvanas*.

Having made himſelf acquainted with the produce of Iſabella, and the manners of its inhabitants, Columbus was unwilling to loſe more time among thoſe

thoſe iſlands, and therefore ſet ſail with a fair wind for a large country, extolled by the Indians, under the name of Cuba, lying towards the ſouth; at the north ſide of which he arrived on the 28th of October. This land exhibited a moſt enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and appeared to be of great conſequence, by the extent of its coaſts, and the largeneſs of its rivers.

The admiral, in order to obtain ſome intelligence of the natives, anchored in a large river, the banks of which were ſhaded by thick and tall trees, adorned with bloſſoms and fruit altogether unknown in Europe, and the ground was clothed with graſs of a moſt luxuriant growth. The Spaniards entered two houſes which were deſerted by the people, who, terrified at the appearance of the ſhips, had betaken themſelves to flight. They, however, ſuſtained no damage; for the Chriſtians, without touching any of their utenſils, reimbarked, and continued their courſe weſtward, until they arrived at the mouth of another river, which the admiral called de Mares. This being more conſiderable than the other, the ſhips entered and ſailed up a good way, and the banks were all along inhabited; but here too the natives fled, with all the effects they could carry, to the mountains, which appeared round and lofty, covered with verdant and ſtately trees.

Senſible that he ſhould never be able to learn the nature of this iſland, if the inhabitants ſhould continue to avoid him in this manner, and fearing to increaſe their terror by landing a number of men, Columbus ordered two Chriſtians, attended by an Indian of St. Salvador, and another of Cuba, who had ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and endeavour, by an engaging behaviour, to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed the ſhip to be careened: on which occaſion he obſerved that their fuel was

maſtick wood, of which there was great plenty all over the iſland.

By the 5th of November the ſhip was repaired and ready to ſail, when the two Spaniards returned, accompanied by two Indians of rank, and informed the admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town conſiſting of fifty wooden houſes covered with ſtraw, made like thoſe in the other iſlands, which contained about one thouſand perſons; that they were met by the principal men of the place, who led them by the arms to the town, where they were accommodated with a ſpacious lodging, and ſeated upon wooden benches, formed in the ſhapes of ſtrange animals, with their tails lifted up for leaning places, and eyes and ears of gold. Being ſeated on theſe benches, the Indians took their places round them on the floor, and came one by one to kiſs the hands and feet of theſe ſtrangers, whom they ſuppoſed to have come from heaven: they, at the ſame time, treated them with ſome boiled roots, not unlike cheſnuts in taſte, and earneſtly intreated them to ſtay ſome days, to repoſe and refreſh themſelves. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hoſpitality, they retired and made room for the women, who, with the ſame expreſſions of veneration, kiſſed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two Indian attendants, who had repreſented the Spaniards as a humane and generous people.

When they ſet out on their return for the ſhip, a great number of people propoſed to accompany them; but they refuſed this courteous offer, and would accept of none but the king and his ſon, whom the admiral treated with great civility and reſpect. Under the protection of this eſcorte, the two Spaniards were kindly entertained at ſeveral petty towns, and met with a great number of the *inhabitants*, who always carried lighted brands to kindle

kindle their fires, with which they roaſted thoſe roots which conſtituted their chief food, and to perfume themſelves with certain herbs they gathered for that purpoſe. They likewiſe ſaw a variety of birds and fowl, among which were partridges and nightingales, but no quadrupeds, except thoſe ſilent dogs we have already mentioned: great part of the land was cultivated, and bore, beſides the bread-root, and a ſort of beans, a kind of grain called maiz, of which was made a very well taſted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, gathered from trees growing ſpontaneouſly, without the leaſt care or culture. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ſhips, where they exchanged a baſket full for a thong of leather; indeed it could be of no great value to themſelves, as they go naked, and make nothing of it but hammocks and ſhort aprons for the women.

They had neither gold, pearls nor ſpices, but pointed towards the eaſt, to a country called Bohio, where all theſe particulars abounded.

In conſequence of this information, the admiral reſolved to ſail thither; but before he departed from Cuba, he took twelve Indians, men, women, and children, whom he intended to carry into Spain; and this ſeizure was made with ſo little diſturbance, that a man who was a huſband to one of the females, came aboard in his canoe, and begged he might accompany his wife and children: the admiral, being very well pleaſed with this inſtance of natural affection, granted his requeſt, and treated them with great tenderneſs and reſpect.

On the 13th of November, he returned to the eaſtward in ſearch of the iſland of Bohio; but the wind blowing hard at north, he was obliged to come an anchor again, among ſome high lands near a e harbour, which he called del Principe; the in the neighbourhood of this port, being co- d with iſlands that lay ſo cloſe together, that the

greateſt diſtance between any two of them did not exceed a quarter of a league: they produced a number of green trees, among others the maſtic, aloes, and palm.

Columbus, on the 19th of November, put to ſea, from Prince's Port, ſteered eaſtward for the iſland of Bohio or Hiſpaniola; but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the iſlands of Cuba and Iſabella. During this interval, he was deſerted by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who having been informed by ſome Indians whom he had concealed in his caraval, that Bohio abounded with gold, made uſe of the advantage he derived from his veſſel, which was a prime ſailer, and left Columbus in the night, with a view to anticipate his ſucceſs, and engroſs the treaſure of that wealthy country.—Thus abandoned by one of his conſorts, and the weather growing too rough to keep the ſea, Columbus returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he named St. Catherine's. Here while the crews were employed in taking in wood and water, he by accident perceived ſigns of gold on ſome ſtones in the river, and, farther up the country, ſaw mountains covered with ſuch tall pines as would furniſh maſts for the largeſt ſhips; together with plenty of excellent oak for planks. In his run along the coaſt, for ten or twelve leagues to the ſouth-eaſt, he diſcovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was raviſhed at the beauty of the country. He called the place Puerto Santo, and ſaid that on entering the river, he found from five to eight fathoms of water; and proceeding a conſiderable way farther up in his boat, he was delighted with the tranſparency of the water, through which he could plainly ſee the ſandy bottom; and with the abundance and variety of verdant plains and lofty trees, inhabited by birds of different notes and plumage. He added, that *he was* even tempted in this delicious ſpot to fix his habitation

habitation for life. In this progreſs he ſaw a canoe drawn upon land, as large as a twelve oar barge, and afterward ſaw another canoe, formed out of the trunk of a ſingle tree ſeventy feet in length, capable of containing fifty men.

After ſailing 106 leagues along the ſhore, the admiral arrived at the eaſt end of Cuba, which he called Alpha; and on the 5th of December ſailed again for Bohio, which, though only ſixteen leagues diſtant, he was prevented by the currents till the next day, when he anchored in a port which he called St. Nicholas, in honour of that ſaint, whoſe feſtival it happened to be. This harbour is large, deep, ſafe, and encompaſſed with many tall trees; though the country is rocky, and the trees in general not ſo large as thoſe of Cuba. He could not however eſtabliſh an intercourſe with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, ſo that he ran along the coaſt to the northward, until he arrived at a port which he called the Conception; and obſerving that the country was very extenſive, and reſembled the coaſt of Spain not only in the trees and plants, but alſo in the fiſhes, the admiral beſtowed upon it the appellation of Eſpannola.——Here he ſaw numbers of the natives, who fled from his men with great precipitation; but having at length caught a young woman, who had a plate of gold hanging at her noſe, ſhe was carried to the ſhips, and preſented with ſeveral baubles, ſuch as bells and glaſs beads, then, without having received the leaſt inſult, diſmiſſed to the town where ſhe dwelt, attended by three Spaniards and as many Indians.

The next day, eleven men going on ſhore well armed, travelled four leagues up the country to a large village conſiſting of a thouſand houſes, and though the inhabitants fled as uſual at their approach, they ſoon returned, at the perſuaſion of a St. Salvador Indian, who went after them, and repreſented the Chriſtians in a favourable light. They now

gazed upon them with equal aſtoniſhment and awe, as a people come from heaven, preſented them with victuals, and preſſed them to ſtay all night in their village. The Spaniards declined accepting this invitation, and returning to the ſhips, reported that the country was pleaſant and fertile, and the people whiter and handſomer than thoſe whom they had hitherto ſeen; that they were tractable and courteous, and gave them to underſtand that the gold was found in a country farther to the eaſtward.

This account induced Columbus to ſet ſail immediately; and on the 15th day of December, while he plied between Hiſpaniola and Tortuga, in a very rough ſea, he took up an Indian from a little canoe, whom he was ſurprized to ſee live in ſuch tempeſtuous weather, and ſet him ſafe aſhore, with ſome preſent of ſmall value. This man having ſignified to his countrymen how kindly he had been treated, they ventured to come aboard, but brought nothing of conſequence, except ſome ſmall grains of gold hanging to their ears and noſtrils, of which, as they expreſſed by ſigns, there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

The next day, while the Spaniards were on ſhore, bartering with the cacique or lord of that diſtrict for a plate of gold, a canoe with forty men approached from the iſland of Tortuga, and the cacique no ſooner perceived them, than he and his people ſat down on the ſtrand, in ſignal that they ſhould not commit hoſtilities; but notwithſtanding this token of peace, they landed; upon which he roſe, and commanded them ſternly to re-embark; at the ſame time he preſented a ſtone to one of the Spaniſh officers, deſiring him to throw it at the Tortugans, as a proof that he would eſpouſe the cauſe of the ſtrangers againſt the Indians of the caſtle. This ſpirited conduct had the deſired effect, and the Tortugans immediately returned to their own iſland, without committing the *leaſt* inſult.

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The ſame cacique, on the 18th of December, came down in ſtate, being carried on a palankine, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himſelf. He now made no difficulty of going on board the admiral, who was at dinner, and entered the cabbin without ceremony, accompanied by two ancient men, who ſeemed to be his chief counſellors, and ſat down at his feet. Columbus received the Indian chief with great civility and reſpect, and treated him with victuals and wine, which having taſted, he ſent to his people who remained on the deck. After dinner, during which he and his miniſters ſpoke very little, and that with great gravity and deliberation, he preſented the admiral with a wrought girdle and two thin pieces of gold; in return for which he received a counterpane, a ſtring of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red ſhoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water, which were ſo agreeable to the prince, that he and his counſellors told Columbus the whole iſland was at his diſpoſal. Then the admiral ſurprized him with the ſight of a gold medal ſtamped with the effigies of Ferdinand and Iſabella, which he conſidered with admiration, and indeed expreſſed ſigns of aſtoniſhment at every thing he ſaw. In the evening he was, at his own deſire, ſent aſhore in the ſhip's boat, and ſaluted with the diſcharge of ſeveral guns, the noiſe of which filled him with terror and amazement: he was however ſo pleaſed with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land; and returned to the place of his reſidence, the admiral's preſents being carried before him with great oſtentation, by his attendants.

On the 24th of December, the admiral weighed and ſailed to a head-land ſince called Punta Sancta, where he anchored about a league from ſhore, and the weather being quite calm, he retired to reſt, which he had not enjoyed for two days: the crew followed his example, and, contrary to the orders he

had always given, left only a boy at the helm. This neglect proved fatal to the veſſel, which about midnight was carried by the current upon a ridge of rocks, before any one on board was aware of the danger. The admiral himſelf was the firſt, who being waked by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, where perceiving their ſituation, he ordered the maſter and three ſailors to take the boat and carry out an anchor aſtern; but they, inſtead of obeying his directions, rowed to the other caraval, to preſerve their own lives, without ſhewing the leaſt concern for the ſafety of their companions. Columbus, ſeeing himſelf deſerted by his own people, ordered the maſts to be cut away, and the veſſel to be lightened as much as poſſible; but all his efforts were ineffectual, and the water ebbing away, her ſeams opened, and all below deck was full of water. The boat now returned from the other caraval, which would not receive the men who had ſo baſely deſerted their commander; and the admiral ſeeing no hopes of ſaving his own ſhip, carried his men on board of the other, with which he lay to till morning. He then approached the land within the ſhoal, after having diſpatched meſſengers to inform the Indian chief of his misfortune, and to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the natives in unloading the veſſel. The cacique condoled their misfortune with tears, and ordered his people to repair in their canoes to the wreck, and obey the admiral's directions: and by the aſſiſtance of theſe honeſt and friendly ſavages, every thing of value was carried aſhore, depoſited in houſes appointed on purpoſe, and guarded with the utmoſt vigilance and fidelity.

On the 26th of December, this hoſpitable prince, whoſe name was Guacanagari, paid another viſit to the admiral, whom he conſoled for his loſs with many demonſtrations of ſorrow and ſympathy, told him he might command his whole fortune, preſented him *with ſome* vizor maſks, the eyes, noſe, and ears of which

which were made of gold, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of that metal, promiſed to ſend for a great quantity from a place called Cebao. In the mean time a canoe arrived from a diſtant iſland with Indians, who brought plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above every other commodity; while the ſeamen aſhore carried on a trade with the natives of Hiſpaniola, who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles.

The nature and productions of this iſland, together with the manners of the inhabitants, ſo highly pleaſed the admiral, that he reſolved to ſettle a colony of Spaniards, who, by maintaining a friendly intercourſe with the natives, might learn their language and cuſtoms, and acquire ſuch information of the wealth and ſituation of the different parts of the iſland, as could not fail of being very advantageous to Spain. He was alſo encouraged to purſue this reſolution, by the behaviour of ſeveral of his men, who voluntarily offered to ſtay; and the cacique was ſo far from taking umbrage at their neighbourhood, that he conſidered them as valuable allies, who would protect his people from the invaſions of the Carribee Indians, a ſavage race of canibals, by whom they were frequently killed and devoured. In order to inſinuate the importance of his friendſhip, in preſence of this prince, he ordered a great gun to be fired againſt the ſide of the wreck, through which the bullet penetrated, and fell into the water on the other ſide, to the amazement of the Indians, who believing that their gueſts were in poſſeſſion of the thunder of heaven, implored their protection in the moſt earneſt manner.

The admiral therefore, ſeemingly in compliance with the cacique's requeſt, ordered a tower to be built of the timber of the wreck, and being furniſhed with proviſion, ammunition, arms, and cannon, he left a garriſon of ſix and thirty men, under the joint command of James d'Arana, Peter Gatierres, and Roderick

derick d'Eſkovedo, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and good offices of the king and his people. Having provided the fort with all neceſſaries, he reſolved to return directly to Caſtile, leſt ſome other misfortune happening to the only ſhip that now remained, might for ever diſable him from giving their Catholic majeſties information of the important diſcoveries he had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions. Accordingly he ſet ſail from the port of Nativity, where he had ſettled this firſt Chriſtian colony, on Friday the 4th day of January at ſun-riſing; and ſtanding to the north-weſt, to get clear of the ſhoal water, took ſuch marks of the land as would enable him to know the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being contrary, he made but little way to the eaſtward, when on Sunday morning he fell in with the caraval Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; who going on board, endeavoured to excuſe his deſertion, by ſaying he had loſt ſight of the admiral in the night, and alleging other frivolous reaſons, the fallacy of which though Columbus plainly ſaw, he diſguiſed his ſentiments, rather than run any riſk of prejudicing the common cauſe, by giving riſe to a dangerous diſſention.

Pinzon had, it ſeems, ſailed to a river fifteen leagues to the eaſtward of the Nativity, where he ſpent ſixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had obtained a large quantity, and diſtributed one half among the crew, in order at once to acquire popularity, and kept what remained for his own uſe. He therefore carefully concealed his ſucceſs from the knowledge of the admiral. He next anchored at Monte Chriſto, a round hill like a pavilion, about eighteen leagues eaſt of Cape Santo; but, the weather not permitting him to proceed, he went in his boat up a river to the ſouth-weſt of the mount, and diſcovering ſome ſigns of gold-duſt in the ſand,

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he called it the river of Gold: this place is ſeventeen leagues to the eaſtward of the Nativity.

On the 13th of January, being near Cape Enamorado, the admiral ſent his boat aſhore, where there ſtood ſome Indians with fierce countenances, armed with bows and arrows, making a ſhew of oppoſition, though they ſeemed to be in great conſternation. They were however, by the mediation of the Salvador linguiſt, brought to a kind of conference, and one of them venturing to go on board the admiral, appeared ſo ferocious, both in his ſpeech and aſpect, which was ſmutted with charcoal, that the Spaniards concluded he was one of the Carribbee Canibals, and that the bay parted this place from Hiſpaniola. But when the admiral inquired about the country of the Caribbees, he pointed with his finger to an iſland farther eaſt, and gave him to underſtand that there was another near it, wholly inhabited by women, with whom the Caribbees converſed at a certain ſeaſon of the year, and carried off all the male children that ſprung from their embraces. Having anſwered all theſe interrogations, partly by ſigns and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was entertained with victuals, and ſet aſhore, with preſents of glaſs beads, and bits of red and green cloth, that he might perſuade his countrymen to bring down gold to barter.

At the place where he was landed, fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers, had formed a ſort of ambuſcade, and being armed with bows and arrows, refuſed to carry on any trade with the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the exhortations of their countryman, but, on the contrary, treated them with ſcorn, and even began to commit hoſtilities. The Chriſtians, though only ſeven in number, ſeeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and charging them with great intrepidity, cut one with a ſword on the buttock, and ſhot another with an arrow in the breaſt, to the terror of the whole party, who fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving

their

their bows and arrows on the ſpot. The admiral was not diſpleaſed at this ſkirmiſh, which he imagined would inſpire the Indians with ſuch high notions of the valour of the Spaniards, as would hinder them from making any attempts to the prejudice of the ſettlement at the Nativity.

On the 16th of January the admiral, though both caravals were in a leaky condition, ſet ſail for Spain from the gulph of Samana, and continuing his courſe with a fair wind, made ſo much way, that on the 9th day of February they were, according to the reckoning of the pilots, ſouth of the iſlands Azores; but by the admiral's account, which proved to be right, they were one hundred and fifty leagues weſtward of theſe iſlands.

They had hitherto enjoyed a favourable gale, but the wind now began to riſe, and the ſea to run mountains high. This continued till the 14th of February, when they were overtaken by ſuch a tempeſt, that they could not work their veſſels, which were toſſed about at the mercy of the ſtorm. The caraval Pinta being incapable of ſailing upon a wind, ran away due north before it, and in the night loſt ſight of the admiral, who ſteered north-eaſt, in order to fetch the coaſt of Spain. In conſequence of this ſeparation, the company of each caraval concluded that the other had periſhed, and betaking themſelves to acts of devotion, it fell to the admiral's lot to go a pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of Guadaloupe; one of the ſeamen was deſtined to go to Loretto, and another to watch a whole night at St. Olave of Moguer; but the fury of the wind and the ſea ſtill increaſing, the whole company joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their ſhirts to ſome church dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin. Their ſituation was rendered ſtill more deplorable by the ſcarcity of proviſion, and the want of ballaſt, by which the ſhip was in danger of being overſet. To remedy this inconvenience, the admiral ordered his *caſks to* be filled with ſea water; and that his diſcovery

covery might have ſome chance of being known, whatever might be the fate of him and his people, he wrote a brief account of it upon two ſkins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil cloths, covered with wax, and put into ſeparate caſks, whoſe bungs being well ſecured were thrown into the ſea.

The ſtorm continued till the 15th of February, when one of the ſailors from the round-top diſcovered land to the eaſt-north-eaſt, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Liſbon, though the admiral ſuppoſed it to be one of the Azores. Soon after they ſaw another point of land, which proved to be St. Mary, where after four days ſpent in inceſſant labour, they came to an anchor. The inhabitants of this iſland came on board with freſh proviſions, and many compliments from the governor, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment at the ſucceſs of the expedition, and ſeemed to rejoice at the diſcovery of Columbus. They were likewiſe ſurpriſed to ſee he had outlived the ſtorm, which, according to their account, had laſted fifteen days without intermiſſion, adding, that there was in the neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin. The admiral and crew, on receiving this information, reſolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot.

Accordingly he ſent the caraval's boat aſhore, with one half of the company, to fulfil this penance, and return immediately, that the reſt might ſucceed them in the ſame ſort of devotion: but they had no ſooner undreſſed themſelves, and begun their proceſſion, than they were attacked and made priſoners by the governor, and a number of people planted in ambuſh for that purpoſe. Columbus having waited in vain, from day-break till noon, for the return of the boat, began to ſuſpect ſome treachery; and as he could not, where he lay, diſcover the hermitage, he ſailed round a point from whence he could ſee it, and perceived a good many Portugueſe on horſeback alight and enter the boat, with intent, as he ſuppoſed,

to

to attack the caraval. He therefore ordered his men to be upon their guard, and hoped the commander himſelf would come on board, in which caſe he would have detained him as an hoſtage: but the Portugueſe not advancing beyond a certain diſtance, the admiral demanded their reaſon for committing ſuch an outrage upon his men, who had gone aſhore upon the faith of a ſafe conduct, and gave them to underſtand that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at ſuch behaviour to the ſubjects of their catholic majeſties, with whom he was in alliance. To this remonſtrance, the Portugueſe captain anſwered, that what they had done was by the expreſs order of the king; ſo that Columbus imagining there was a breach between the two crowns, called all his people to bear witneſs to what they had heard, and directing his diſcourſe to the Portugueſe, ſwore he would never quit the caraval, until he ſhould have taken a hundred Portugueſe, and deſtroyed the whole iſland. He now returned to the port he had left; but the wind increaſing, and his riding being unſafe, he was obliged to ſtand out to ſea, though he had only three able ſeamen left, the reſt being boys, Indians, and landmen, who underſtood nothing of ſea-affairs.

Next day, the weather being mild, he endeavoured to recover the iſland of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21ſt, in the afternoon; and ſoon after his arrival, the boat came off with five men and a notary, who upon proper ſecurity went on board, and deſired to know, in the governor's name, whence the ſhip came, and whether or not the admiral had the king of Spain's commiſſion. Being ſatisfied in theſe particulars, they went aſhore, and releaſed the Spaniards, who had been informed, that the king of Portugal had ſent orders to all his governors, to ſecure, if poſſible, the perſon of the admiral; but this ſcheme miſcarrying, they thought proper to diſmiſs their priſoners.

Having

Having recovered his men, Columbus departed from the iſland of St. Mary, on the 24th of February, with a very favourable wind. On the 3d of March, they were expoſed to another tempeſt, attended with lightning and thunder, during which their ſails were ſplit; and they vowed another pilgrimage to our lady de Cinta at Guelva: they now ran under their bare poles through a terrible ſea, and were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt on the rock of Liſbon, which they accidentally diſcovered at midnight. They, however, weathered it with great difficulty; and next day being obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, the admiral ſent an expreſs to their catholic majeſties with the news of his arrival; and another to the king of Portugal, aſking leave to anchor before the city, as his preſent ſtation was far from being ſafe.

On the 5th of March, the maſter of a great guard-ſhip, with a boat full of armed men, came along-ſide of the admiral, whom he required to go and give an account of himſelf to the king's officers, according to the practice of all ſhips that entered that river. Columbus replied, that as the king of Spain's admiral, he would not degrade himſelf ſo far as to comply with any ſuch cuſtom, nor would he ſend the moſt inconſiderable perſon belonging to his ſhip upon an errand of that nature. The Portugueſe finding him reſolute, deſired he would ſhew him the king of Spain's letter, that he might ſo far ſatisfy his captain; and this requeſt being complied with, he returned to his ſhip, and made a ſuitable report to his commander Alvaro de Acunha, who forthwith came on board the caraval, attended with fifes, drums, and trumpets, and welcomed the admiral with many expreſſions of friend-ſhip. The nature of the voyage was no ſooner known at Liſbon, than ſuch multitudes of people came to ſee the Indians, and learn the particulars of this amazing diſcovery, that the whole river was covered with boats.

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The king having received the admiral's letter, ordered his officers to preſent him with all ſorts of refreſhment and neceſſaries, gratis; at the ſame time, he wrote to Columbus, congratulating him upon his happy return, and deſiring to ſee him before he left his dominions. Columbus at firſt ſcrupled to accept of this invitation; but, conſidering that the king of Portugal was at peace with his ſovereign, and had treated him with uncommon hoſpitality and regard, he reſolved to wait upon his Portugueſe majeſty, who then reſided about nine leagues from Liſbon, at a place called Valparaiſo; where the admiral arrived on Saturday the 9th of March. The king ordered all the nobility of the court to go out and meet him: and when the admiral was conducted to the preſence, he inſiſted upon his putting on his cap and ſitting down; and having with ſeeming pleaſure heard the particulars of the voyage, offered to ſupply him with every thing he wanted, though he could not help obſerving, that the conqueſt of right belonged to him, as Columbus had been once in the ſervice of Portugal. The admiral modeſtly gave his reaſons for being of a contrary opinion; to which the king replied, "It was very well; juſtice will doubtleſs be done." This converſation being ended, he ordered the prior of Crato to entertain Columbus, who having ſtaid all Sunday, and part of Monday, took his leave, after having been treated by his majeſty with great honor, and tempted, by very conſiderable offers, to reingage in his ſervice. In his return, he was attended by Don Martin de Noronha, and many other perſons of rank; and as he paſſed by a monaſtery where the queen was, ſhe deſired to ſee him, and received his viſit with great reſpect. That ſame night, a gentleman came from the king, to tell him, that if he was inclined to go to Caſtile by land, he would accompany and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. He declined this offer with ſuitable acknowledgements, and ſetting ſail from

from the river of Liſbon on the 13th of March, arrived on the 15th at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, from whence he had departed on the 3d day of Auguſt in the preceding year.

On his landing, the admiral was received by all the people in proceſſion, giving thanks to God for his proſperous ſucceſs, which, it was hoped, would redound ſo much to the advantage of Chriſtianity, and the grandeur of their catholic majeſties. By this time Pinzon had arrived in Galicia, and deſigned to carry in perſon the news of the diſcovery to court, when he received orders, forbidding him to come without the admiral, under whoſe command he had been ſent on the expedition. This mortifying repulſe made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he fell ſick; and returning to his native place, in a few days died of grief and vexation.

Mean while Columbus ſet out for Sevil, in his way to Barcelona, where their majeſties at that time reſided; and the roads were crowded by all ſorts of people, who flocked together to ſee him and the Indians in his train. About the middle of April he arrived at Barcelona, where he was received in the moſt ſolemn manner, by the whole court and city: their catholic majeſties, who ſat in public upon their chairs, under a canopy of cloth of gold, ſtood up when he approached to kiſs their hands, cauſed him to be ſeated in their preſence, and treated him as a grandee of the firſt order, who had done the moſt important ſervice to his country. Nay, ſo highly favoured was he for his merit and ſucceſs, that when the king rode about Barcelona, Columbus was always at his ſide, an honour which had never been conferred before upon any but the princes of the blood.

Nor was their regard confined to unſubſtantial forms; he was gratified with new patents, enlarging, explaining, and confirming the privileges which he had before obtained; and extending his viceroyalty and admiralſhip over all the countries he had diſ-

covered, as well as thoſe he ſhould diſcover: f
was reſolved, that he ſhould return to the Weſt
dies with a powerful armament, to ſupport the
lony he had ſettled, and proceed with other diſc
ries. In the mean time they ſolicited and proc
from pope Alexander VI. an excluſive title tc
the lands they ſhould find and ſubdue in that di
tion, as far as the Eaſt Indies.

The Second Voyage of COLUMBUS

AS ſoon as all the neceſſary meaſures were ta
at court, for the ſucceſs of his ſecond e
dition, admiral Columbus departed for Sevil, w
he exerted himſelf with ſuch diligence, that
little time ſeventeen veſſels of different ſizes
ready to ſail, well ſtored with proviſions
other neceſſaries, for the improvement of the
dian colonies. Many handicraftſmen and labou
were engaged for this ſervice, while the thirſ
gold and the ſucceſs of the firſt adventurers, d
together ſuch a ſwarm of voluntiers, that he fo
it abſolutely neceſſary to reject a great number,
til another opportunity ſhould offer, and for
preſent reſtrict himſelf to fifteen hundred per
of all ſorts, who actually embarked on this un
taking.

Having taken aboard ſome horſes, aſſes, and o
animals, which multiplied, and were afterward
great uſe in the plantations, and being well furn
ed with all ſorts of utenſils and commodities
trade; the admiral ſailed from the road of Ca
where the fleet was equipped, on the 25th of S
tember 1493, an hour before ſun-riſing, and ſt
ſouth-weſt for the Canary iſlands, where he inten
to take in ſome refreſhment. On the 28th, be
100 leagues from Spain, they ſaw abundance
la

land-fowl, ſuch as turtle doves and other ſmall birds, paſſing from the Azores to winter in Africa. On the 2d of October, he anchored at Gran Canaria, and at midnight ſailed again for Gomara, where he arrived on the 4th, and gave orders for ſupplying the ſhips with all poſſible diſpatch with wood, water and cattle; particularly with eight ſows; from which were produced all the ſwine now in the Weſt Indies. They were called Weſt Indies from Columbus ſailing to them weſtward; in hopes, as was mentioned at the beginning of his firſt voyage, of arriving that way to the Eaſt Indies.

His directions being followed, he, on the 7th of October, took his departure for the Indies, after having delivered ſealed orders to every ſhip, not to be opened unleſs they ſhould be ſeparated from him by ſtreſs of weather. They run 400 leagues weſt of Gomara with a proſperous gale, and were ſurpriſed that they did not meet with any of thoſe weeds which they had ſeen in their firſt voyage before they had made much more than half way. On the 26th at night, the ſeamen perceived upon the round-top, thoſe lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to whom they ſing litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger would enſue, let the ſtorm be never ſo violent.

On the 2d of November in the evening, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the winds and ſky, that poured down a deluge of rain, concluded he was near ſome land; and almoſt all the ſails being taken in, ordered the crew to keep a ſharp look-out. This was far from being a groundleſs precaution; for as ſoon as day began to break, they deſcried, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward, a high mountainous iſland, which the admiral named Dominica, becauſe it was diſcovered on Sunday morning. Much about the ſame time, they ſpied three other iſlands; and the people aſſembling on the poop, ſung the *ſalve regina*, and returned thanks

to God for their wonderful ſucceſs in having ſailed near 800 leagues in the ſpace of twenty days. There being no convenient place for anchoring on the eaſt ſide of Dominica, they ſtood over to another, which the admiral called Marigalante, after his own ſhip; and there landing, he, with the uſual ſolemnity, confirmed the poſſeſſion he had formerly taken of all the iſlands and continent of the Weſt-Indies for the king and queen of Spain.

On the 4th of November, he ſailed from hence to another great iſland, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in conſequence of a promiſe he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name: at the diſtance of two leagues from this ſhore, they perceived a very high rock, ending in a point, from whence guſhed a large ſtream of water, which fell with a prodigious noiſe. Some men being ſent aſhore in the boat, went up to a ſort of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except ſome children, to whoſe arms the Spaniards tied a few bawbles, in token of friendſhip. They ſaw geeſe like thoſe of Europe, abundance of very large parrots, pompions, and pine apples growing wild, of exquiſite taſte and flavour. They likewiſe ſaw different kinds of ſtrange fruits, cotton, hammocks, bows and arrows, and other things, which they left untouched, that the owners might have the better opinion of their morals. Next day the admiral ſent two boats aſhore, with orders to take, if poſſible, ſome of the natives, from whom they might obtain ſome important information; and they returned with two young men, who ſaid they were of another iſland, and taken priſoners by the inhabitants of Guadaloupe. The boats going aſhore again for ſome of the people whom they had left, found ſix women who had fled to them, and deſired to be carried on board; theſe the admiral preſented with beads and bells, and diſmiſſed, much againſt their inclinations; and they were no ſooner landed,

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than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments, in ſight of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, theſe poor creatures leaped into the boat, imploring protection from the cruelty of the iſlanders, who, they ſignified, had eaten their huſbands, and kept them in ſlavery. They were therefore brought aboard the admiral, whom they gave to underſtand, that there were towards the ſouth many iſlands, and a large continent, from which, in former times, canoes had come to barter; and they pointed out the ſituation of Hiſpaniola; whither he would have ſteered without delay, had he not been informed, that one Mark, a captain, had, without his leave, gone aſhore before day, with eight men, and was not yet returned; ſo that he was obliged to ſtay and ſend people in queſt of him, with trumpets and muſkets, the noiſe of which might be heard through the woods, that were almoſt impaſſable. However, this ſearch proving fruitleſs, he ſent another detachment of forty men, under captain Hoidea, with orders to range through the country, and make obſervations on its productions. They found maſtic, aloes, ſanders, ginger, frankincenſe, ſome trees that reſembled cinnamon in taſte and ſmell, and abundance of cotton: they ſaw faulcons, kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geeſe and nightingales; and affirmed, that in travelling ſix leagues, they croſſed ſix and twenty rivers, ſeveral of which were very deep: this, however, muſt have been a miſtake, into which, in all probability, they were led by the ruggedneſs of the country, that compelled them to croſs the ſame river a great many different times.

While they were employed in this excurſion, the ſtragglers returned to their ſhip of their own accord, and ſaid they had been bewildered in the woods; but the admiral puniſhed their preſumption, by ordering the captain to be put in irons, and the reſt to be curtailed in their allowance of proviſion. This

example being made, he himſelf landed, and entered ſome of the Indian houſes, where he found a great deal of cotton, ſpun and unſpun, together with abundance of human ſkulls and bones hung up in baſkets: and he obſerved that the natives here were better accommodated with lodging, neceſſaries, and proviſion, than thoſe of the iſlands which he had viſited in his firſt voyage.

On the 10th of November, he weighed anchor, and ſailed with the whole fleet toward the northweſt in queſt of Hiſpaniola, paſſing an iſland he called Monſeratte, on account of its height; the inhabitants of which, as he learned from the Indians, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees. He coaſted along St. Mary Redonda, ſo named from its round figure; ſailed by Sta. Maria la Antigua, extending to about twenty eight leagues; and holding on his courſe, ſaw, to the north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, ſeveral other high and woody iſlands, near one of which, intitled St. Martin, he came to an anchor, and when they weighed, pieces of coral were found ſticking on the flukes. On the 13th of November, he anchored again on account of bad weather, at another iſland, where he ordered ſome Indians to be taken, that they might inform him of his true ſituation. Accordingly four women and three children being kidnapped by the boat's crew, they put off from ſhore, and in their way to the ſhip met with a canoe, in which were four men and one woman, who perceiving that they could not make their eſcape, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and the female ſhot an arrow with ſuch force and dexterity, that it actually went through a ſtrong target. But the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, overſet the canoe, ſo that they betook themſelves to ſwimming, and one of them uſed his bow in the water as dexterouſly as if he had been on dry land: all the males were eunuchs, who had been caſtrated by the Caribbees,

bees, as the capons are made in Europe, with a view to their improvement in fatneſs.

The admiral departing hence, continued his courſe weſt-north-weſt, leaving to the northward fifty iſlands, the largeſt of which he called St. Urſula, and on the reſt he beſtowed the appellation of the Eleven Thouſand Virgins. Then he anchored in a bay, on the weſt ſide of what he termed St. John Baptiſt, where the men caught ſkate, olaves, pilchards, and ſhad; and ſaw faulcons, and ſhrubs like wild vines. To the weſtward of the bay they viſited ſome well-built houſes, with a ſquare in their front, from which was a ſpacious road down to the ſea, flanked on both ſides with cane towers, the tops of which were curiouſly interwoven with greens; and at the end of it, next the ſea, ſtood a lofty gallery or balcony, large enough to hold ten or twelve perſons.

On the 14th he arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, where he ſent on ſhore one of his Indians, who was a native of that part, and being now converted to the Chriſtian faith, undertook for the ſubmiſſion of all his countrymen. From thence, continuing his courſe for the town of the Nativity, he was at Cape Angel viſited by ſome Indians, who came aboard to barter; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Chriſto, ſome of his men diſcovered, near a river, two bodies of men with a rope made of a kind of broom about their necks, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in form of a croſs; this circumſtance was looked upon as a bad omen, though it was impoſſible to diſcover whether they were Chriſtians or natives of the country.

Next day, being the 26th, a number of Indians came aboard, with great confidence and appearance of friendſhip, and pronounced ſeveral Spaniſh words they had learned from the ſettlers, ſo that the admiral was eaſed of the apprehenſions he had begun to

conceive; as he could not imagine they would have behaved with ſuch freedom and unconcern, had they been conſcious to themſelves of having injured the Chriſtians. Next day, however, put an end to his doubts; for, when he anchored near the town of the Nativity, ſome Indians came along ſide in a canoe, and enquired for him by name; and being ſatisfied that he was there, went on board with two maſks, and a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From theſe people he had the mortification to learn, that the greater part of his ſettlers were dead, and the reſt gone to other countries: and though he ſuſpected foul play, he concealed his ſuſpicions for the preſent, and that ſame night diſmiſſed the meſſengers with ſome utenſils of ſattin and other bawbles for their prince.

When he entered the port of the Nativity, he ſaw nothing but ruin and deſolation; the town was burnt to the ground, and not a ſoul appeared upon the beach; and when he ſent ſome of his people on ſhore to gather tidings, they found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who ſeemed to have been a month dead. While he ruminated with ſorrow and reſentment on this unfortunate event, he was viſited by Guacanagari's brother, who came down attended by ſome Indians, and told him, that he ſcarce ſet ſail, on his return to Spain, when thoſe he had left behind, began to quarrel among themſelves, every man endeavouring to amaſs as much gold as he could find, and taking as many wives from among the natives, as his appetite, or rather his extravagance, ſeemed to require; that Peter Gutierres and Eſcovedo having killed one Iago, had, with nine others, retired into the dominions of a cacique called Caunabo, lord of the mines, who put them all to death, and afterwards came down with a great number of men to deſtroy the town. At that time, James de Arana with ten men were left to guard the fort, the reſt having diſperſed themſelves about the

the iſland; and Caunabo, who ſtole upon them by night, ſetting fire to their houſes, they fled into the ſea, where eight of them periſhed, and the other three were ſlain on ſhore, while Guacanagari himſelf, who had joined the Spaniards, was obliged to fly, after having received a dangerous wound, by which he was then confined to his houſe, ſo that he could not wait upon the admiral according to his inclination. This ſtory exactly agreeing with the intelligence he received from ſome Spaniards, who had been ſent up the country to reconnoitre, and had actually ſeen Guacanagari at his own houſe, the admiral paid him a viſit next day, and was received with all the appearance of cordiality and concern: the cacique repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned ſorrow, ſhewed his own wound, and thoſe of his men, which had been received in defence of the Chriſtians, and appeared to have been made by Indian weapons. The compliments of condolance being paſt, he preſented him with eight ſtrings of ſmall beads, compoſed of white, green, and red ſtones, a ſtring of gold beads, a regal crown of the ſame metal, and three ſmall calabaſhes, full of gold duſt, weighing about two pounds. In return for theſe valuable preſents, the admiral gave him toys to the amount of three reals, or eighteen pence, which he prized at a very high rate. Though he was extremely ill, he inſiſted on accompanying his gueſt to the fleet, where he was courteouſly entertained, and very much ſurpriſed at the ſight of ſome horſes. He was afterward inſtructed in the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, which he at firſt had made ſome ſcruple to embrace. The admiral being diſguſted at this place, which had been the ſcene of ſo many diſaſters to him and his people, and knowing that in the neighbourhood there were more commodious places for a ſettlement, ſailed to the eaſtward with the whole fleet, on Saturday December 7th, and next day came to an anchor among

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the ſmall iſlands of Monte Chriſto, whic
deſtitute of trees, are nevertheleſs pleaſ
that winter ſeaſon they abounded with fl
full of young birds, and every other pr
ſummer. Weighing, however, he failed
and anchored before an Indian town, w
ſigned to plant a colony.

With this view, all the men deſigne
together with proviſion and proper
landed in a plain, where he built a to
beha, in honour of the queen. This
very convenient ſpot, becauſe it was u
which a fort might be erected: th
very large, and at the diſtance of a
river of delicate water, from which
drawn through the middle of the
yond it lay an extenſive open plain,
Indians ſaid, the mines of Ceboa w
tant. From the 11th day of Decem
was eagerly employed in regulating
which being tolerably well adjuſted,
de Hoieda, with fifteen men, in q
mines; and on the 2d day of Febr
twelve ſhips of his fleet to Caſtile,
mand of captain Antonio de Torr
returned, and gave the following a
pedition.

On the ſecond day he lay at the
inacceſſible mountain; at the diſtan
he found a cacique, by whom he w
ceived; and continuing his journey
ſixth day at the mines of Ceboa,
ſaw the Indians take up gold from
they afterwards did from many oth
province. This information was
able to the admiral, who was juſt
by ſits, occaſioned by fatig
day March next he ſet out fro
Nov. attended by the people who

foot and horſeback, except a ſtrong guard which he left in the two ſhips, and three caravals, that remained under the command of his brother Diego Columbus. This precaution he took in conſequence of a conſpiracy he had detected on board, headed by one Bernarde de Piſa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their catholic majeſties: but the combination being diſcovered, Columbus ſecured the ringleader, until he ſhould have an opportunity of ſending him home to undergo his trial. Having thus prevented the fatal conſequences of a mutiny, he departed for Ceboa, with neceſſaries to build a fort in that province, for the ſecurity of thoſe who ſhould be left to gather gold among the Indians; and that he might the more intimidate and awe theſe ſavages, he made a parade of all his people, whom he ordered to march through their villages in rank and file, with their arms and accoutrements, trumpets ſounding, and colours flying. In his march he paſſed by many Indian towns, compoſed of round thatched houſes, the doors of which were ſo ſmall, that no perſon could enter without ſtooping very low. The inhabitants ſeemed to have no notion of private property, for they attempted to take from the Spaniards any thing they chanced to like, and were ſurpriſed at meeting with a repulſe. The whole way was diverſified with pleaſant mountains covered with wild vines, aloes, caſſia, and various ſorts of trees.

On the 14th of March, the admiral ſet forward for the river of Canes; and having proceeded a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another, which he named the Golden river, becauſe here they gathered ſome duſt and a few grains of that metal. Having with ſome difficulty paſſed this large body of water, he found a conſiderable town, and all the houſes ſhut againſt him by the inhabitants, who had barred the doors with canes, which they looked upon as an impregnable defence. On the 16th of March, he entered the province of Ceboa, which, though

rough

rough and ſtony, yields plenty of graſs, and is watered by ſeveral rivers abounding with gold, waſhed down from the mountains; but has few trees, except ſome pines and palms on the banks of the rivers.

His firſt care was to erect a fort in a very ſtrong, though pleaſant ſituation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Chriſtian adventurers. This fortification, which he called the caſtle of St. Thomas, was ſufficient to render all the attempts of the Indians abortive. It was garriſoned by fifty-ſix men, under the command of Peter Margarite, and among theſe were workmen of all ſorts, to finiſh and repair the fort.

The admiral, after giving proper directions to the garriſon, ſet out on his return for Iſabella, and arrived there on the 29th of March, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the ſeed had not been above two months in the ground. Cucumbers came to perfection in twenty days; and a wild vine in the country, being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes. The next day a peaſant gathered ears of wheat, which he had ſown in the latter end of January: vetches improved in the ſoil, and produced a ripe crop in twenty five days after they were ſown. The ſtones of fruit ſprouted out in ſeven days; the vine branches put forth in the ſame time, yielding green grapes in five and twenty days, and ſugar canes budded in the ſame ſpace; ſo that the admiral was perfectly well pleaſed with the climate, the ſoil, and the water, which was extremely pure, cool, wholeſome and palatable.

On the 1ſt of April, a meſſenger arrived from St. Thomas, with intelligence, that the cacique Caunabo was employed in making preparations for attacking the fort: and though Columbus paid no regard to this report, knowing how little the natives were to be feared, eſpecially as they were ſo much terrified by the horſes, yet intending to put to ſea with

with his three caravals, in order to diſcover the continent, he reſolved to leave every thing quiet behind him; and for that purpoſe ſent a reinforcement of ſeventy men to the fort, the greateſt part of whom had orders to make the roads more paſſable, and find out the fords of the rivers. In the mean time he compleated his town, which was laid out in regular ſtreets, with a convenient market place, and ſupplied it with the river water, conveyed through an artificial canal. He likewiſe erected a water-mill to grind wheat; but as his people were not as yet accuſtomed to the food of the natives, and proviſions beginning to fail, he determined to ſend all the ſuperfluous mouths to Spain. This ſtep he was rather induced to take, becauſe the climate diſagreed with many, who were in a ſick and languiſhing condition: as for thoſe who enjoyed health, and were not abſolutely neceſſary in the town, he ſent them out to traverſe the iſland, that they might reconnoitre the ground, accuſtom themſelves to the Indian diet, and ſtrike a terror into the inhabitants: they were commanded by Hoieda, who had orders to march into Ceboa, and deliver them to Peter Margarite, who received directions to lead them round the iſland, while Hoieda commanded the fort of St. Thomas.

Accordingly four hundred of the Spaniards departed on the 29th of April from Iſabella; and, having croſſed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, together with his brother, they ſent in irons to the admiral. This puniſhment was inflicted on the cacique for breach of truſt. He had accommodated three Spaniards in their way from St. Thomas to Iſabella with five Indians to carry their cloaths over a river; but the Spaniards were no ſooner in the middle of the ſtream, than the ſavages ran away with the baggage, and the cacique, inſtead of puniſhing them for the theft, refuſed to reſtore the booty.

Another

Another cacique who dwelt beyond the river, relying upon the ſervice he had done the Spaniards, accompanied the priſoners to Iſabella, in order to intercede in their behalf with the admiral, who entertained him courteouſly; but in order to inhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out to execution. The mediator ſeeing them in this dangerous ſituation, ſhed a flood of tears, and begged their lives might be ſpared, with the moſt earneſt entreaties; in conſequence of which they were pardoned and diſmiſſed. Immediately after their releaſe, a man on horſeback, juſt arrived from St. Thomas's, told the admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the cacique who had been priſoner, he had ſingly reſcued four Spaniards, whom the Indians had taken by way of repriſals, and chaſed about four hundred people, who fled at the very ſight of his horſe.

Columbus having now fitted out his fleet for a new expedition, appointed a council to govern the iſland in his abſence, conſiſting of his brother Diego as preſident, and five other perſons*. Then he ſailed to Cuba, ran along the ſouth ſide of that iſland,

* It was during the time that Columbus was thus ſettling the affairs of Hiſpaniola, that John Cabot, (a citizen of Venice, who lived at Briſtol) and his ſon Sebaſtian, ſailed from the laſt mentioned city upon diſcoveries; ſaw the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of *Prima Viſta*, or Firſt-ſeen; and on the 24th of June, the ſame year 1494, went aſhore on an iſland, which they called St. John's, from its being diſcovered on St. John's day. John Cabot, on his return to England, obtained a patent for making diſcoveries; but dying ſoon after, king Henry VII. granted a new patent to his ſon Sebaſtian, who ſet ſail on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus began his third voyage. Sebaſtian ſailed as high as 67° 30′ north latitude; proceeded from thence into the latitude of 56°, and from thence ran down to 38° along the coaſt of the continent of America, which he expreſly ſays, was afterwards called Florida, where proviſions growing ſhort, he ſailed back, touched at Newfoundland, and returned to England.

and

and put into a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water.

On the 3d of May, the admiral ſailed for Jamaica, where he was told there was great plenty of gold, and on the 5th, anchored in that iſland, which he thought the moſt beautiful of any he had yet ſeen. An aſtoniſhing multitude of natives came on board in canoes of different ſizes, to barter proviſions, which they exchanged for the moſt inconſiderable toys. The next day, he coaſted along the ſhore; but ſending out his boats to ſound the mouths of ſome harbours, they were ſurrounded by canoes full of armed men, who ſeemed bent upon committing acts of hoſtility. The Spaniards, however, being reſolved to enter Puerto Bueno, ſaluted them with a flight of arrows, by which ſix or ſeven were wounded, and the reſt ſo intimidated, that they fled with precipitation. In this harbour, the admiral's ſhip was repaired, and on the 14th, he ſtood over again to Cuba, with full reſolution to know whether it was an iſland or a continent. The ſame day a very young Indian of Jamaica coming on board, deſired to accompany the admiral to Spain; and though many of his kindred and countrymen came, with tears in their eyes, earneſtly entreating him to return, he perſiſted in his reſolution, and the admiral gave orders he ſhould be treated with the utmoſt kindneſs and civility.

On the 15th, the admiral reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz; and as he coaſted along, was overtaken by a terrible ſtorm, attended with thunder and lightning, the more dangerous as he was entangled among flats and currents, which hindered him from taking in his ſails. He found the whole ſea, to the north and north-eaſt, interſperſed with a vaſt number of little, low, ſandy iſlands, ſome of which ſcarce appear above the ſurface of the water, and render the navigation very difficult. Indeed the nearer they ſailed to Cuba, the higher and pleaſanter theſe iſlands appeared; and as

it

it would have been a tedious talk to beſtow a name upon every particular, he ſtiled them the Queen's Garden. The next day they ſeemed to multiply on all hands, inſomuch that the men reckoned one hundred and ſixty, parted from each other by navigable channels, through ſome of which the ſhips ſailed. On theſe they ſaw a great number of cranes red as ſcarlet, abundance of tortoiſes or turtle, and their eggs, and an infinite number of little ſinging birds. The very air was as ſweet as if it had been impregnated with the ſcent of roſes, and all other vegetable perfumes.

In one of thoſe channels they found a canoe with fiſhermen, who ſeeing the boat approach, made ſigns to the Spaniards to lay upon their oars, until they had performed their operation, which was very ſingular and curious. They had tied a ſtring round the tail of ſome ſmall fiſhes called reves, that are taught to encounter other fiſh, to which they cling ſo faſt, by means of a certain roughneſs and viſcoſity in their ſkin, that the fiſhermen draw them up together: upon this occaſion they caught a tortoiſe; and the reve was wound about its neck, where they generally faſten to ſecure themſelves from the teeth of their game; and in this manner they will ſometimes attack ſharks of the largeſt ſize. The Indians having drawn their line very quietly, went on board of the admiral, and preſented the fiſh which they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles, and held on his courſe: though he now began to be in want of proviſions, and his health was very much impaired by fatigue and want of reſt, which he would not venture to enjoy amidſt ſuch a number of unknown iſlands, which every night produce a great fog to the eaſtward, accompanied with thunder and lightning, though it vaniſhes as ſoon as the moon is riſen. During the night, the wind generally blows off ſhore, but in the day it is almoſt always eaſterly, and ſeems to follow the ſun in its diurnal courſe.

On

On the 22d of May, the admiral landed on an iſland ſomewhat larger than the reſt, which he called St. Mary, and entered a town abandoned by the inhabitants, where he found nothing but fiſh, and ſome dogs that reſemble maſtiffs. He then directed his courſe north-eaſt, where he was ſtill perplexed and fatigued, by ſailing and ſounding among an aſtoniſhing number of flats and iſlands; becauſe, in ſpite of all his precautions in ſounding and keeping a good look-out, the ſhip was often a-ground, and there was no poſſibility of avoiding this inconvenience: this conſideration, joined to thoſe we have already mentioned, obliged him to relinquiſh his deſign of ſailing eaſt about until he ſhould return to Spain.

The ſhips being now in want of water, Columbus touched again at Cuba, and one of the ſailors going up among the trees with a croſs-bow in ſearch of game, ſaw about thirty people armed with ſpears and ſtaves, called Macanas, and among them a perſon clad in a white coat or veſt that reached down to his knees, and carried by two men in long garments of the ſame ſtuff, all three being as white as Spaniards: but he had no converſation with them; becauſe, ſeeing ſuch a number, he called to his companions, and the Indians ran away without looking back. Next day the admiral ſent people on ſhore to know the truth of this report, but the woods and bogs were ſo impaſſable, that they could not proceed in their inquiry.

About ten leagues to the weſtward of this place, they ſaw houſes, from which the natives came in canoes, with water, and ſuch food as they eat; and one of them was detained as an interpreter by the admiral, who promiſed to diſmiſs him in ſafety, as ſoon as he ſhould have given him proper directions for his voyage, and a diſtinct account of the country. The Indian was ſatisfied with his promiſe, and gave him to underſtand that Cuba was an iſland; that the king

or cacique of the weſtern part never ſpoke to his ſubjects, but made certain ſigns, in conſequence of which all his orders were performed; and that all the coaſt was very low, and ſurrounded by ſmall iſlands. Next day, June the 11th, the admiral being incloſed between two of theſe, was obliged to tow the ſhips over a flat; and bearing up cloſer to Cuba, they ſaw very large tortoiſes, in ſuch numbers, that they actually covered the ſea. Next day the ſun was darkened by a cloud of ſea-crows that came from ſeaward, and lighted upon the iſland, where they likewiſe ſaw abundance of pigeons and other birds; and afterward, ſuch ſwarms of butterflies, that the day was obſcured from morning till night, when they were carried away by a deluge of rain.

On the 13th of June, the admiral being in want of wood and water, anchored in the iſland of Evangeliſta, about thirty leagues in compaſs; and having provided the ſhips with what they wanted, directed his courſe ſouthward, in hopes of finding another paſſage: but, after having ſailed a few leagues through what ſeemed to be a channel, he ſaw himſelf embayed, and was obliged to return as he entered. Hence he ſailed on the 25th, towards ſome ſmall iſlands that appeared to the north-weſt; not far from which the ſea ſeemed in different places to be of various colours, owing, in all probability, to the ſhallow water, and nature of the bottom ſeen through it. Thence returning to the coaſt of Cuba, he ſtood to the eaſtward with ſcant winds, and on the 30th day of June, while he was writing his journal, the ſhip ran a-ground ſo faſt, that ſhe could not be got off without great difficulty, and ſome damage.

Maſs was performed on the 7th of July, during which they were viſited by an old cacique of that province, who liſtened very attentively to the ſervice, and afterwards ſignified his belief of the exiſtence of a ſupreme Being, who rewards virtue, and puniſhes vice

vice in a future ſtate: he was acquainted with ſome of the chiefs in Hiſpaniola, had been in Jamaica, and at the weſt end of Cuba, where the cacique was clad like a prieſt.

On the 16th of July, the admiral put to ſea, though very much incommoded by the rains and winds, which, as he approached Cape Cruz, ſuddenly increaſed to ſuch a ſtorm, that the ſhips were almoſt overſet before the ſails could be furled, and they ſhipped ſo much water, that the men were ſcarce able to keep them clear by pumping, ſo much were they reduced by fatigue and want of proviſions: a man's allowance being ſtinted to a pound of rotten biſket, and half a pint of wine per day, which the admiral himſelf did not exceed. In this diſtreſs, he, on the 18th of July, reached Cape Cruz, where he was very civilly entertained by the Indians, who ſupplied him with bread called caſſada, made of roots grated, abundance of fiſh, and ſtore of pleaſant fruit. Thus refreſhed, he ſtood over to Jamaica on the 22d day of July, and coaſting along to the weſtward, found it full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants; he judged it to be about 80 miles in compaſs.

The weather clearing up, he ſailed to the eaſtward, and on the 20th of Auguſt, making the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, called the firſt point Cape St. Michael, which is about thirty leagues diſtant from the moſt eaſterly part of Jamaica, and at preſent known by the name of Cape Tiburon. On the 23d he was viſited aboard by a cacique, who called him by his name, and pronounced ſome Spaniſh words; and about the latter end of the month, he anchored in an iſland known by the name of Alto Velo, after having loſt ſight of the other two ſhips that were under his command. Here the men killed eight ſeals that lay aſleep on the ſhore, and took abundance of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccuſtomed to the cruelty of the human ſpecies, ſtood ſtill, and allowed them-

ſelves to be knocked on the head with ſtaves. At the end of ſix days, being joined by the miſſing ſhips, they ſtood for the iſland Beata, at the diſtance of twelve leagues from Alto Velo: thence coaſting along Hiſpaniola, which exhibited a delightful proſpect of a plain, running up a mile from the ſea, ſo populous, that for a whole league it ſeemed to be one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which appeared a lake, five leagues in length from eaſt to weſt. Here the natives came aboard in their canoes, and informed the admiral, that they had been viſited by ſome Spaniards from Iſabella, where all was well. He was very much pleaſed with this information, and immediately diſpatched nine men acroſs the iſland to his colony, with the news of his ſafe return, while he and his ſhips ſtill ſailed along the coaſt to the eaſtward. In this courſe he ſent the boats for water, near a great town, from which the Indians came to oppoſe their landing, with bows and poiſonous arrows, and produced ſome ropes, with which they threatened to bind the Chriſtians: but as ſoon as the boats reached the ſhore, they laid down their arms, and aſked for the admiral, to whom they made a tender of all they had.

Near this place, they ſaw in the ſea a fiſh as big as a whale, with a great ſhell, like that of a tortoiſe, upon its neck: it bore its head, which was as large as an hogſhead, above water, had a very long tail, reſembling that of a tunny fiſh, and two large fins on the ſides. From this, and other concurring ſigns, the admiral prognoſticated a change of weather, and ſeeking ſome place where he might ride ſecure, it was his good fortune to diſcover an iſland near the eaſt part of Hiſpaniola, called by the natives Adamanai. Between this and Hiſpaniola, he came to an anchor cloſe under another ſmall iſland, and obſerved an eclipſe of the moon, which was followed by a tempeſt that laſted ſeveral days; ſo that he was obliged to lie in this ſituation till the 20th, not without great apprehenſion on account of the other veſſels which could

not

not get in. However, they weathered the ſtorm and joined the admiral, who ſailed on the 24th to the eaſtermoſt point of Hiſpaniola; from whence he paſſed over to a little iſland which the Indians called Mona, and in his paſſage from hence to St. John de Borriguen, he was, in conſequence of the fatigue he had undergone, ſeized with a peſtilential and lethargic fever, which deprived him of his ſenſes and memory. In this dilemma, it was reſolved by his people to deſiſt from the deſign he had formed, of diſcovering the Caribbees, and to return to Iſabella, where they arrived in five days; and on the 29th of September, the admiral recovered the uſe of his reaſon, and his fever left him, though his weakneſs laſted five months.

On his arrival at Iſabella, he found his brother Bartholomew, who, in returning to Spain from the court of England, had been informed of Chriſtopher's ſucceſs, by Charles king of France, who ſupplied him with a hundred crowns for the expence of his journey. Having received this intelligence, he made all the haſte he could to overtake the admiral in Spain, but before he arrived in Sevil, his brother had ſailed on his ſecond voyage: however, he ſoon followed with three ſhips, the command of which was given to him by their catholic majeſties. And now the admiral made him governor of the Indies, though this title occaſioned ſome diſpute; becauſe the king and queen alleged, that Chriſtopher had no power to grant ſuch an office: nevertheleſs this difference was compromiſed, and his place confirmed under the title of Adelantado, or lieutenant of the Indies.

Though the company and aſſiſtance of Bartholomew were of great comfort and ſervice to the admiral, he was involved in infinite trouble and vexation, by the miſconduct of Peter Margarite, which had produced a revolt among the Indians. This officer, inſtead of obeying the orders of Columbus, in traverſing and reducing the iſland, with 360 foot, and

14 horſe, which were left under his command, encamped in a great plain, called Vega Real, at the diſtance of ten leagues from Iſabella, from whence he ſent inſolent letters, and even orders to the council, over which he wanted to domineer: but finding it impracticable to ſucceed in his deſign of uſurping the ſupreme command, and dreading the return of the admiral, who would call him to an account for his behaviour, he embarked in the firſt ſhip bound for Spain, without having aſſigned any reaſon for his departure, or in any ſhape diſpoſed of the men who were under his command; ſo that every perſon being at liberty to follow his own inclination, they diſperſed themſelves in the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed ſuch outrages, as entirely alienated the affections of the Indians, and even induced them to lay ſchemes of revenge.

Indeed they might have eaſily ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, had they united in their own defence: for, there were four principal kings or caciques, namely, Caunabo, Guacanagari, Behechico, and Guarconex, and upon each of theſe 70 or 80 petty lords depended; not that theſe vaſſals paid tribute, but were obliged, when called, to aſſiſt them in their wars and agriculture. Guacanagari continued a firm friend to the Chriſtians; and, viſiting the admiral at his return, declared he had been in no ſhape aiding or aſſiſting to thoſe who had injured the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, had protected and maintained one hundred of his people, and for that reaſon incurred the diſpleaſure of the other kings. Behechico had killed one of his women, and another had been taken away by Caunabo; ſo that he implored the aſſiſtance of Columbus, to recover her who was alive, and revenge the other's death. The admiral had ſo often experienced the humanity and affection of this cacique, that he reſolved to redreſs his wrongs, eſpecially as it was his intereſt to foment and maintain diſſention

diſſention among the Indian chiefs, who, in being divided, would be the more eaſily ſubdued. In the mean time, ſome of the natives who had murdered his men, being apprehended, were puniſhed with death, and others ſent to Spain in four ſhips, which had come out in February, under the command of Antonio de Torres.

On the 24th of March 1495, Columbus, with Guacanagari, departed from Iſabella, to proſecute the war againſt his Indian enemies, who were aſſembled to the number of one hundred thouſand, while his forces did not exceed two hundred Chriſtians, with twenty horſes and as many dogs.

On the ſecond day of his march, being in ſight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one half to his brother the lieutenant, that by attacking in two places at once, they might increaſe the terror and confuſion of the Indians, who were ſcattered about the plains. Accordingly, the Spaniards having firſt thrown them into diſorder, by a diſcharge of their croſs-bows and muſkets, fell in among them with their horſes and dogs, charging with ſuch fury, that the faint-hearted multitude were routed and fled different ways, with great precipitation. Many were ſlain in the purſuit, and a great number made priſoners; among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cacique confeſſed that he had killed twenty of the Chriſtians, who had been left with Peter de Arna at the Nativity, that his intention was to act in the ſame manner at the town of Iſabella, which he had reconnoitered under colour of friendſhip. Such a confeſſion, together with his being taken in actual rebellion, were matters of ſuch importance, that the admiral thought proper to ſend him and his whole family into Spain, where they might be uſed according to the pleaſure of their Catholic majeſties.

The Indians were ſo much intimidated by the victory which the Spaniards had obtained, and the cap-

tivity of Caunabo, that in the ſpace of a year, the admiral, without drawing a ſword, reduced the whole iſland to obedience, and impoſed a quarterly tribute to be paid to the king and queen of Spain. Thus every thing was ſettled to the ſatisfaction of all parties, and the people became ſo quiet and pacific, that a ſingle Spaniard could travel in ſafety over the whole iſland, and be received every where with hoſpitality and regard: though by this time, the colony was, by the diſeaſes of the climate, and change of diet, reduced to leſs than one third of the number which firſt landed at Iſabella.

During this interval of peace, the Spaniards by converſing with the natives, became better acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms, and among other things, learned that the iſland produced copper, azure, amber, ebony, cedar, frankincenſe, a kind of bitter cinnamon, ginger, long-pepper, and a great number of mulberry trees, which bear leaves all the year for the ſupport of a ſilk manufacture.—With regard to religion, the admiral himſelf writes, that every king or cacique, here, as well as in the other iſlands and continent, had a detached houſe ſet apart for the lodging and ſervice of certain wooden images called Cemis, before which they prayed with great devotion, and peculiar rites. Caunabo being queſtioned about a future ſtate, ſaid, that after death he ſhould go to a certain vale, where he ſhould find his parents and predeceſſors, and eat, and drink, and enjoy all the ſenſual pleaſures in the higheſt perfection.

The iſland of Hiſpaniola being now in a ſtate of quiet ſubmiſſion, the colony of Iſabella eſtabliſhed, and three forts erected in different parts, for the ſecurity of the Spaniards, the admiral reſolved to return to Caſtile to give an account of theſe tranſactions, and acquit himſelf of ſome ſlanderous accuſations, which certain envious and malicious perſons had laid againſt him and his brother. He therefore, on Thurſday 10th of March, 1496, went on board with two hundred

dred and twenty-five Spaniards, and thirty Indians, embarked in two caravals called Santa Cruz and Nina, and ſailing from Iſabella early in the morning, began to ply to the eaſtward.

On the 2d, he weathered the moſt eaſterly point of the iſland, ſtill continuing the ſame courſe, though the wind was in his teeth, till the 6th of April, when finding his proviſions falling ſhort, and his men weary and diſcouraged, he ſtood off more ſoutherly to the Caribbee iſlands, and on Saturday the 9th, anchored at Marigalante. Next day he ſailed to Guadaloupe, and ſent aſhore his boats, which being oppoſed by a number of women, who ruſhed out of a wood with bows and arrows; the Spaniards laying on their oars, ordered two of their Indian women to ſwim aſhore, and tell the iſlanders that they wanted nothing but proviſions, for which they would give them a valuable conſideration.

When the female warriors underſtood the demand of the Chriſtians, they directed them to the north-ſide, where they would be ſupplied by their huſbands: accordingly the ſhips coaſting round the iſland, a great number of people came down to the ſhore, and let fly ſeveral flights of arrows at the boats: but perceiving the Spaniards rowed towards the ſhore, they formed an ambuſcade in the neareſt woods, from whence, however, they were driven by the cannon of the ſhips; ſo that their houſes and effects being abandoned, were pillaged and deſtroyed by the Chriſtians, who being acquainted with the method, went to work, and made a ſufficient quantity of bread to ſupply their wants. In theſe Indian houſes, which, contrary to the practice of the other iſlands, were ſquare, they found large parrots, honey, wax, and iron, of which they had hatchets and looms for weaving their tents; and in one, they perceived a man's arm roaſting on a ſpit.

While ſome of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral detached forty men to obtain

ſome

ſome intelligence of the country, and next day they returned with ten women and three boys, among whom was the wife of a cacique, who had been taken by a Canary man, remarkably ſwift of foot. Notwithſtanding his nimbleneſs, he could not have overtaken her, had not ſhe, ſeeing him alone, turned back in full confidence of making him her prey. She accordingly ſeized and threw him on the ground, and he certainly would have been ſtifled, had not ſome of his companions come to his aſſiſtance. Theſe women, who are exceſſively fat and thick, ſwathe their legs with a piece of cotton from the ancle to the knee, and wear their hair long and looſe flowing upon their ſhoulders, but no other part of their bodies is covered. The captive lady ſaid the iſland was inhabited by women only, and that among thoſe who endeavoured to oppoſe the landing, there were but four men, who chanced to be there by accident; for, at certain times of the year, they come from other iſlands, to procreate the ſpecies. This is likewiſe the caſe in another iſland called Matrimonio, poſſeſſed by the ſame ſort of Amazons, who ſeemed to be endued with maſculine ſtrength and a clearneſs of underſtanding which is not found among the men of that country; for as other Indians reckon the day by the ſun, and the night by the moon only, the women are acquainted with aſtronomy, and they meaſure their time by the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars.

The admiral having furniſhed his ſhips with a ſupply of bread, wood, and water, ſet ſail from Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, after having gratified and ſent on ſhore all the inhabitants, except the chief lady and her daughter, who choſe to go to Spain along with Caunabo, who, though a cacique of Hiſpaniola, was a native of the Caribbees.

By the 20th of May the ſhips being about 100 leagues weſt of the Azores, proviſions began to fail, ſo that each man was reſtricted to an allowance of ſix ounces of bread, and ſomething leſs than a pint of water

water per day; and the admiral found the Dutch compaſſes varied a point, while thoſe of Genoa had very little variation.

On the 8th of June, ſeveral days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, exactly according to the admiral's account, they made the land of Odenicra, between Liſbon and Cape St. Vincent, which ſome miſtook for the coaſt of Galicia, while others affirmed they were in the Engliſh channel; and by this time the ſcarcity on board was ſo great, that many of the people propoſed to eat the Indians, and others were of opinion they ſhould be thrown overboard, in order to leſſen the conſumption of the proviſion that remained. But both theſe cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who exerted his whole authority and addreſs for the protection of thoſe poor creatures; and next morning he was rewarded for his humanity with the ſight of land, which agreed ſo well with his prediction, that his men believed he was actually inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecy.

The admiral being landed, ſet out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic majeſties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their ſon Prince John, with Margaret of Auſtria, daughter of Maximilian the emperor. He preſented the king and queen with ſamples of every peculiar production of the Indies, ſuch as birds, beaſts, trees, plants, inſtruments, and utenſils, together with ſeveral girdles and maſks adorned with golden plates, and a large quantity of gold duſt, with grains of that metal of various ſizes, from the bigneſs of a vetch, to that of a pigeon's egg.

Having afterwards vindicated his own conduct to the ſatisfaction of their majeſties, he earneſtly begged to be ſent back with ſupplies to the colony which he had left in want of men and many neceſſaries; but notwithſtanding all his ſolicitations, the court was ſo dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapſed before he could

could obtain a ſupply, which was ſent in two ſhips commanded by Peter Fernandez Coronell. After his departure, Columbus continued at court, to negotiate the equipment of ſuch a fleet as would be proper for him to conduct to the Weſt-Indies: but this was long retarded by the negligence and miſmanagement of the king's officers, and particularly of Don John de Fonſeca archdeacon of Sevile, who being afterwards created biſhop of Burgos, proved an inveterate enemy to the admiral, and was the chief of thoſe who, in the ſequel, brought him into diſgrace with their Catholic majeſties.

The Third Voyage of COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS having forwarded the expedition with the utmoſt care and induſtry, on the 30th of May 1498, ſet ſail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, with ſix ſhips loaded with proviſions and neceſſaries for the relief of the planters in Hiſpaniola, and with full reſolution to make farther diſcoveries.

On the 7th of June he arrived at the iſland of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water: on the 9th he touched at Madeira, where he furniſhed himſelf with other refreſhments; and on the 19th reached Gomera, where a French ſhip having taken three Spaniſh veſſels, weighed and ſtood to ſea with them, at ſight of the ſquadron. The admiral was no ſooner informed of this capture, than he ordered three of his ſhips to give chace; but they made too much way to be overtaken: one of the prizes, however, was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards, whom the French had left on board, and who clapping their captors under the hatches, brought the veſſel ſafely into port again.

From

From hence the admiral ſailed for the iſland of Ferro, where he reſolved to ſend three of his ſhips to Hiſpaniola, while he with the reſt ſhould ſail towards the Cape de Verd iſlands, and from thence directly over to diſcover the continent. In conſequence of this determination, he appointed Peter de Arana, Alonzo Sancher de Caravajal, and John Antonio Columbus his own kinſman, captains of the three ſhips bound to Hiſpaniola, with orders, that each ſhould command a week in his turn; and this diſpoſition being made, the ſhips parted, each ſquadron upon its reſpective voyage.

On the 25th of June, the admiral deſcried the iſland De Sal, and paſſing it, came to an anchor in another called Bona Viſta, on which are ſix or ſeven houſes for the accommodation of lepers who go thither to be cured. The Portugueſe who had charge of the iſland, immediately went aboard the admiral to offer his ſervice, and was gratified with a preſent of ſome proviſion, which was extremely acceptable, as they live very miſerably on that barren ſoil. Columbus being deſirous to know by what means the leproſy was cured in this place, he told him, that the recovery of the diſeaſed was effected by the temperature of the air, and feeding upon tortoiſes, with the blood of which they likewiſe anointed themſelves externally. Hither theſe animals repair in vaſt numbers from the African ſhore, to lay their eggs in the ſand, during the months of June, July, and Auguſt, and are eaſily caught by being turned on their backs while they are aſleep. This is the only employment or exerciſe uſed by theſe wretched lepers, who have no other ſuſtenance; and there is neither tree nor ſpring on the iſland, ſo that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackiſh and unpalatable.

The charge of the whole ſpot is committed to one perſon, with four men under his directions, who are wholly employed in killing and ſalting goats to be ſent to Portugal. Of theſe creatures there are ſuch multitudes

[illegible] the mountains, that in the courſe of one [illegible] ſometimes killed to the value of four [illegible] hundreds; and the whole ſtock were produced [illegible] ſows, carried thither by the proprietor [illegible], whoſe name was Roderick Alfonſo.

The admiral, on the 30th of June, ſailed for the iſland of St Jago, where he came to an anchor next day in the evening, and ſent aſhore to buy ſome cows and bulls, as a live ſtock for his plantation in Hiſpaniola: but finding he could not be furniſhed without ſome difficulty and delay, he would not ſtay in ſuch an unhealthy place, which was always covered with a thick fog; and ſailed on Thurſday to the ſouth-weſt, reſolving to continue in that courſe, until he ſhould be under the Line, and then ſteer due weſt, in ſearch of ſome undiſcovered country. He accordingly proceeded, and judging the Caribbee iſlands were to the northward, he determined to change his direction and make for Hiſpaniola, being in great want of proviſion and water. He therefore ſtood to the northward, and one day about noon, a ſailor from the round-top ſaw land to the weſtward, at the diſtance of fifteen leagues, ſtretching towards the north-eaſt as far as the view could extend. Salve regina and other prayers were ſaid by the ſeamen, and the admiral diſtinguiſhed this land by the name of Trinity, becauſe three mountains on it appeared at the ſame time.

Continuing his courſe due weſt, without any remarkable occurrences, on the firſt of Auguſt they diſcovered the continent at the diſtance of five and twenty leagues; but the admiral miſtaking it for another iſland, gave it the name of Iſla Santa.

Columbus now proceeded to a more weſterly point of land, which he named del Arenal, where he thought his boats would not be ſo much incommoded by the eaſterly wind which prevails on this coaſt. In his way he was followed by a canoe with five and [illegible] men, who ſtopped within muſket ſhot, calling

ling very loud: as what they ſaid could not be underſtood, he ordered one of his men to allure them to the ſhip, by ſhewing them ſome little braſs boſſons, looking glaſſes, and other toys, of which the Indians uſed to be enamoured: but, this expedient proving ineffectual, he deſired one of the men to aſcend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, whilſt others danced around him. The Indians no ſooner heard the muſick, and ſaw the geſticulations of the Spaniards, than thinking it a ſignal for war, they put themſelves in a poſture of defence, braced their targets, and ſhot their arrows among them: and the admiral allowed his people to puniſh their inſolence with their croſs-bows, which ſoon compelled the ſavages to retire; though they went alongſide of another caraval, without apprehenſion, and were civilly treated and diſmiſſed by the captain, who ſaid they were well ſhaped, and whiter than the inhabitants of other iſlands, that they wore long hair tied with ſtrings, and covered their loins with pieces of cotton cloth.

After watering his ſhips at Punta del Arenal, from trenches which in all probability the fiſhermen had made, the admiral proceeded to another mouth or channel towards the north-weſt, which he called Boca del Drago, to diſtinguiſh it from the watering place he had left, which had the appellation of Boca de la Sierpe. Theſe two mouths or channels are made by the two weſtermoſt points of Trinity Iſland, and two others of the continent, lying almoſt north and ſouth of one another. In the midſt of the Boca del Drago, where the admiral anchored, is a rock, which he called El Gallo; and through the other the ſea ran ſo furiouſly to the northward, that it reſembled the mouth of ſome great river. As the ſhips lay at anchor, they were ſaluted by an increaſed ſtream running northward with an hideous noiſe, which meeting with another current from the gulph of Paria, ſwelled up the ſea with terrible roaring, to the aſtoniſhment

niſhment and conſternation of the Spaniards, who expected to be overwhelmed. They however ſuffered no other damage than that of ſeeing one of the ſhips drag her anchor, though ſhe was afterwards brought up by the help of her ſails. This danger being paſſed, the admiral weighed anchor, and ſailed weſtward along the ſouth coaſt of Paria, which he then believed to be an iſland, and hoped to find a way northward to Hiſpaniola: but, though the coaſt abounded with ports, he would not enter any, as all that ſea was land-locked, and formed into an harbour by the continent.

On the 5th day of Auguſt, while the ſhips lay at anchor, the boats being ſent on ſhore, found plenty of fruit peculiar to that climate, a great quantity of wood, and ſome ſigns of people who had fled at their approach. Sailing fifteen leagues farther down the coaſt, where he dropped anchor, a canoe with three men came aboard the caraval El Borreo, and being carried to the admiral, were civilly treated, preſented with toys, and ſent aſhore at a place where ſtood a number of Indians. Theſe no ſooner underſtood the pacific diſpoſition of the Chriſtians, than they came along ſide in their canoes, to barter with the ſame ſort of things which the Spaniards had bought at other iſlands: but the people here had no targets nor poiſoned arrows, which are peculiar to the Canibals.

They drank liquor as white as milk, and another of a duſkiſh hue, that taſted like wine made of four grapes. The men cover their heads and middle with well woven cotton cloths of different colours; but the women here, as well as in Trinity Iſland, were ſtark naked; they ſeemed however, in general, to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola, and were particularly fond of braſs trinkets and bells.

As nothing of value appeared among them but a few inconſiderable plates of gold that hung about their

their necks, the admiral ordered ſix of them to be taken on board, and proceeding to the weſtward, touched at two other high iſlands, well inhabited by people, who ſeemed to be richer in gold plates than thoſe he had left: they ſaid it was produced in other iſlands to the weſtward, inhabited by Canibals. They wore ſtrings of beads about their arms, ſome of them being very fine pearls, which they ſignified were found in oyſters taken to the weſtward and northward of Paria; and the admiral having purchaſed ſome of them, for a preſent and ſample to their Catholic majeſties, ſent the boats to make further enquiry about this valuable commodity. When the Spaniards landed, they were received in a friendly manner by the natives, who flocked round them, and conducted them to a houſe, where they were hoſpitably entertained with victuals, and that ſort of wine we have already mentioned. Theſe Indians were of a finer complexion, opener countenance, and better ſhape than thoſe the Spaniards had hitherto ſeen, and wore their hair cut ſhort by the ears, according to the Spaniſh faſhion: they ſaid their country was called Paria, expreſſed a deſire of living in amity with the Chriſtians, and ſuffered them to return well ſatisfied to their ſhips.

Columbus ſtill continuing to ſail weſtward, found the water growing more and more ſhallow, ſo that he would not venture to proceed farther in his own ſhip, but, anchoring upon the coaſt, ſent the ſmall caraval El Borreo to diſcover whether there was an outlet to the weſtward among thoſe iſlands. She returned the next day, with a report that what ſeemed iſlands, was one continued continent: the admiral therefore ſtood to the eaſtward and paſſed the ſtreights, which he ſaw between Paria and the iſland of Trinity. This paſſage he effected with great difficulty and danger, ariſing from three different boiſterous currents. He now ſailed to the weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, and after paſſing by ſeveral

nishment ar … gust the harbour
expected t… … had built a city,
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… …th one Francis Roldan, whom he
…e mayor, or chief juſtice; and his
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…eas voyage, in which their proviſions
… …Caravajal's veſſel greatly damaged,
… …ed at St. Domingo, where the captains
… …al returned from the diſcovery of the
… …e had been informed by his brother of
…lt, and reſolved to ſend a circumſtantial
…e whole affair to their Catholic majeſties.
…e time underſtanding that the rebels com-
… their being detained upon the iſland, by
… …r veſſels to reconvey them to their own
…, Columbus publiſhed a proclamation, giv-
…e to all who were deſirous of returning to
…, and promiſing to ſupply them with free paſſage
… …viſions.

…length, after many diſputes, it was agreed,
… …e admiral ſhould deliver to Roldan two good
…, well manned, rigged and victualled, for tranſ-
…ing him and his people to Spain, from the port
… Naragua; that he ſhould iſſue an order for the
…yment of their ſalaries and wages, to the day of
departure, reſtoring ſuch of their effects as had
ed by his or the lieutenant's order: and that
within

within fifty days from the ratification of this agreement, they ſhould leave the iſland. Matters being thus compromiſed, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ſhips, but, neceſſaries being very ſcarce, and the weather extremely boiſterous, ſome time elapſed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, and in that interval, Roldan changed his mind, and taking advantage of the delay, during which he ſaid his people had conſumed a great part of the proviſion that was intended for the voyage, he renounced the agreement and refuſed to embark. Caravajal, who went to Xaragua with the ſhips, after having in vain exhorted the rebels to comply with the agreement, entered a proteſt againſt their proceedings, and returned with the ſhip to St. Domingo. He told the admiral, that Roldan ſtill expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing the affair accommodated, and deſired a ſafe conduct. Columbus, knowing the mutinous diſpoſition of his own people, was extremely ſolicitous about healing the diviſion, and not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went round with two caravals to the port of Azura, which is near Xaragua. There he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that the admiral ſhould ſend home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the firſt ſhips bound for Spain; and that he ſhould give land and houſes, in lieu of pay, to thoſe who remained; and an act of general amneſty ſhould be publiſhed, and Roldan again appointed perpetual judge.

Having adjuſted this troubleſome affair, the admiral appointed a captain to march a body of men round the iſland, in order to pacify, reduce and puniſh the rebellious Indians, while he himſelf propoſed to return to Spain, with his brother the lieutenant, that no cauſe of animoſity might be left in Hiſpaniola, ſo as to endanger another revolt. While he was employed in making preparations for the voyage, Alonzo de Ojeda arrived in the iſland with four ſhips,

from a cruize, and putting into Yaquimo, not only committed acts of outrage upon the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with ſome of the Spaniards, who were hardly as yet confirmed in their duty after the late troubles: to theſe he inſinuated, that queen Iſabella was in a very bad ſtate of health, and that after her deceaſe, the admiral would find no protection at court, but, on the contrary, muſt fall a victim to the hatred of Ojeda's kinſman the biſhop, the inveterate enemy of Columbus. The admiral being informed of his proceeding, ordered Roldan to march againſt him with one and twenty men; and accordingly the chief juſtice came upon him ſo ſuddenly, at the houſe of a cacique, called Haniguaba, that finding it impoſſible to eſcape, and being too weak to make any oppoſition, he went out to meet him, excuſed his landing, upon pretence of being in want of proviſion, and declared he had no intention to diſturb the repoſe of the iſland. He then told Roldan, that he had diſcovered ſix hundred leagues to the weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, where he found people who fought the Chriſtians hand to hand with ſuch valour, that he could make no advantage of the wealth of the country; that he had brought from thence ſome ſkins of deer, rabbets, tygers, and gaaninis; and concluded with a promiſe, that he would ſoon ſail round to Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage.

Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, he ſailed to the province of Xaragua, where he ſeduced a good number of the people who had been in rebellion, by telling them that he and Caravajal were appointed by their majeſties, counſellors and checks upon the admiral, and that as he had not been juſt enough to pay them, they ſhould go under his command, and do themſelves juſtice by force. This wild ſcheme being oppoſed by ſome of the Spaniards, who deſpiſed the preſumption of Ojeda, a tumult enſued, in which ſeveral perſons were killed and wounded; and

and Roldan, who had rejected his propoſals, marching a ſecond time againſt him, he was obliged to take refuge in the ſhips. The chief juſtice, perceiving that he was out of his reach, invited him to come aſhore and treat of an accommodation, and upon his refuſal took his boat by ſtratagem; ſo that he was obliged to ſubmit to a treaty, in conſequence of which he left the iſland.

Not long after his departure, another commotion was raiſed by one Ferdinand de Guevara, who was in diſgrace with the admiral, for having been concerned in the late ſedition. This man being exaſperated againſt Roldan, who would not permit him to marry the daughter of Canua queen of Xaragua, began to ſet up for himſelf, and entered into a conſpiracy with one Adrian de Moxica, who had been a chief actor in the firſt rebellion. Theſe two projectors engaged many people in their intereſt, and reſolved to ſurpriſe and murder the chief juſtice, whom Guevara conſidered as his greateſt enemy, and the chief obſtacle to his deſign. But Roldan, having got intelligence of their deſign, concerted his meaſures ſo well, that he ſeized the chief conſpirators, and being directed by the admiral to puniſh them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial; in conſequence of which, Adrian was hanged, ſome others baniſhed, and Ferdinand with a few confederates ſent priſoners to La Viga, where the admiral at that time reſided.

This example, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the maintainance of peace and ſubordination, had ſuch an effect upon all degrees of perſons, that tranquillity was reſtored through the whole iſland; and the Indians ſubmitted without further oppoſition. About this time, ſuch rich gold mines were diſcovered, that every man began to dig on his own account, paying to the king one third of what he found; and their labour proſpered to ſuch a degree, that one man has been known to gather forty ounces

in one day; and one lump of pure gold was found, that weighed one hundred and ninety-ſix ducats.

While Columbus was thus indefatigably employed in appeaſing the troubles of Hiſpaniola, and ſecuring the property of it for their Catholic majeſties, he little dreamed what a ſtorm was gathering againſt him at home. During the rebellion, a number of complaints had been ſent to Spain by the male-contents, who repreſented him as an inſolent alien, ignorant of the laws and cuſtoms of the Spaniſh nation, without moderation to ſupport the dignity to which he had been raiſed, oppreſſive and cruel in his diſpoſition, and ſo avaritious, that he not only with-held the pay from the ſervants of the government, but likewiſe embezzled the riches of the iſland. They inveighed ſtill more bitterly againſt his brother the lieutenant; nor did Diego eſcape the utmoſt virulence of cenſure. Theſe invectives being ſpread by the friends of the complainers, and encouraged by many perſons at court, who envied the ſucceſs and reputation of Columbus, ſuch a clamour was raiſed in Caſtile, that the king and queen were every day ſurrounded in the ſtreets, and even in the palace, by people demanding juſtice againſt that proud and tyrannic foreigner, who had oppreſſed ſo many Caſtilians, and diſcovered a miſchievous country, to be the ruin and grave of the Spaniſh gentry. Other methods were taken to influence the favourites at court, who joining the importunities of the people, their catholic majeſties were prevailed upon to ſend an inſpector-general to Hiſpaniola, with a commiſſion impowering him to enquire into the admiral's conduct; and if he ſhould be found guilty, to ſend him home, while he ſhould remain governor of the iſland. The perſon choſen for this office, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, in very low circumſtances, who being furniſhed with full powers and authority, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of Auguſt 1500,

1500, while the admiral was at Conception, with almoſt all the people of conſequence, employed in ſettling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been aſſaulted by the malecontents.

The new inſpector, finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, took poſſion of the admiral's palace, and converted his effects to his own uſe; then aſſembling all thoſe whom he found diſaffected to the brothers, declared himſelf governor; and, in order to attach the people to his intereſt, proclaimed a general remiſſion for twenty years to come. The next ſtep he took was to require the admiral's preſence without delay; and, to enforce this order, he ſent him the king's letter, to this effect.

To D. Chriſtopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean.

"We have ordered the commendary Francis de "Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with ſome "things from us: therefore we deſire you to yield "him intire credit and obedience."—Given at Madrid, May 21, 1499.

"By command of their highneſſes,
"Mic. Perez de Alamazan.

"I THE KING.
"I THE QUEEN.

The admiral no ſooner received this letter, than he ſet out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla; who without delay or legal information, ſent him and his brother Diego on board of a ſhip, where they were put in irons, under a ſtrong guard, and entirely excluded from the ſpeech of any perſon whatever. Then a proceſs was inſtituted againſt them, and all their enemies admitted as evidences, who, in their depoſitions were ſo malicious, incoherent, and abſurd, that no perſon, who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accuſed, would have paid the leaſt regard to their allegations. But, ſo far

far was Bovadilla from doing juſtice on this occaſion, that he countenanced the moſt flagrant perjury, and even encouraged the rabble to inſult the priſoners, by reading ſcandalous libels in the market-place, and blowing horns at the port where the ſhips lay at anchor. Perhaps the lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might have reſcued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to ſubmit quietly, and ſurrender himſelf to the authority of their majeſties, now veſted in the perſon of their new governor, who had no ſooner ſecured their perſons, and laid ſtrict injunctions on Andrew Martin the captain of the ſhip, to deliver the admiral in irons to the biſhop D. John de Fonſeca his enemy, by whoſe direction he acted, than he began to ſquander the king's revenues among his creatures, to embezzle the treaſure, countenance all manner of profligacy and extravagance, oppreſs and plunder the Indians, and, in ſhort, deſtroy the wholeſome regulations which had been eſtabliſhed.

With regard to the admiral, he declined accepting the favour of Andrew Martin, who being aſhamed of his ſituation, would have knocked off his irons; but he inſiſted upon wearing them during the whole paſſage, ſaying he was reſolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his ſervice. Nor did he ever change his opinion in this particular; for the fetters were always preſerved in his own chamber, and buried in the ſame coffin with his body, at his own requeſt.

On the 20th of November, 1500, he wrote a letter to their Catholic majeſties, giving an account of his arrival at Cadiz; and they underſtanding his ſituation, gave immediate orders that he ſhould be releaſed, and ſent him very gracious letters, in which they expreſſed their ſorrow for his ſufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of Bovadilla, and invited him to court, with promiſe that he ſhould be ſhortly diſpatched with full reſtitution of his honour. Accordingly

cordingly on his arrival at Granada, he met with a very favourable reception from the king and queen, who expreſſed their diſpleaſure againſt the author of his imprisonment, and promiſed that he ſhould have ample ſatisfaction. In the mean time, they ordered his affair to be examined, and the accuſation plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted. A new governor was appointed to be ſent to Hiſpaniola, in order to redreſs the admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to reſtore what he had unjuſtly ſeized; and to proceed againſt the rebels according to the nature of their offences. This power and commiſſion was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commandery of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel, and revengeful, who liſtened to malicious ſurmiſes, and exerciſed great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs. At the ſame time, it was reſolved, that Columbus ſhould be ſent upon ſome voyage that might turn to his advantage and keep him employed, until Obando ſhould ſettle the affairs of Hiſpaniola. But the admiral being weary of ſuch expeditions, extremely chagrined at the ingratitude of Spain, and apprehenſive of future diſgrace from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, deſired to be excuſed from embarking again, and would not engage in the enterprize, until he was ſtrongly ſolicited by their majeſties, who aſſured him of their protection.

It may be obſerved, by way of digreſſion, that while Columbus was proſecuting his third voyage, Alonzo de Ojeda, whom we have already mentioned, and Americus Veſpucius, obtained from the biſhop of Bargos, the draughts and plans which, by their majeſties order, Columbus had depoſited in the hands of that prelate, and who, out of hatred to that great commander, gave them up without the knowledge of the king and queen. The licences he gave were alſo clandeſtine. They ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 20 of May, 1499, and ſteered directly in ſearch

of

of the continent, purſuant to the admiral's ſcheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the firſt voyage made by Americus Veſpucius, and though he now only touched at that part of the continent which had already been viſited by the admiral, yet he pretended to diſcover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into thoſe parts, dreſſed up a plauſible ſtory; and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, impoſed upon the greateſt part of Europe, and gained the undeſerved honour of giving a name to the new world, which is called *America*; when it might with more propriety be named *Columbia*. In Spain, however, he was ſoon detected; for pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom after a voyage of thirteen months ſpent in diſcoveries, Ojeda made oath that only five months were ſpent in the voyage, and that finding themſelves ſhort of proviſions, they ſailed to Hiſpaniola for a ſupply.

It was no ſooner known that Alonzo Ojeda, and Americus Veſpucius had obtained the above licences, than others reſolved to make uſe of the ſame intereſt, in order to acquire a ſhare of the riches of the new world: and a company was formed at Seville, the principal of whom was Peter Alonzo Nino of Palos, who was with the admiral when he diſcovered Paria, and Chriſtopher Guerre of Seville.

Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within 50 leagues of any place diſcovered by Columbus, ſet ſail ſoon after Ojeda and Veſpucius; diſcovered land, and arrived at the province of Paria a few days after them, where finding the Indians behave peaceably, he, contrary to his inſtructions, landed and cut Brazil-wood, and then continuing his courſe, came to what Columbus had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the iſland of Margarita, and the continent, and which he had viſited in 1498.

The

The people here went on board Nino's ſhips without any apprehenſions, carrying pearl necklaces, and wearing jewels in their noſes and ears; for which the Spaniards gave them hawks-bells, bracelets, rings, and ſeveral trifles made of tin. Having thus purchaſed a conſiderable quantity of valuable pearls, the Spaniards paſſed by Coro, near the province now called Venezuela, 130 leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth; and anchored in a bay where they were well received by 50 men, who came from a place at a league's diſtance, and very earneſtly preſſed them to anchor at their town: upon which the Spaniards gave them ſome toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces.

The next day the Spaniards came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians made ſigns to them to come on ſhore; but being no more than 33 men, they durſt not venture, and therefore by their ſigns invited the Indians to come on board, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls which they freely exchanged for toys: by which the Spaniards being convinced of their ſincerity, landed and ſtaid twenty days on ſhore, during which they were courteouſly entertained with veniſon, rabbits, geeſe, ducks, parrots, fiſh, and bread made of Maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs; that they had earthen jars, diſhes, and other veſſels of ſeveral ſhapes, and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They aſked by ſigns where that metal was gathered, and were anſwered in the ſame manner, that it was got ſix days journey from thence, at a place called Curiana Cauchcito.

The Spaniards therefore ſailed thither, and found that the people were very tractable; for they came on board without the leaſt jealouſy, and bartered with them for wrought and unwrought gold, through

their

they would not part with their pearls. They alſo gave them ſome monkies, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but as they approached the ſhore above 5000 naked men came armed with bows and arrows to oppoſe their landing, and though they ſtrove to pleaſe them by ſhewing them hawk's bells and other things, could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, where they were received with the ſame ſatisfaction as before, the Indians now trading with them for pins and needles, which the Spaniards ſhewed them would be of uſe in drawing the thorns out of their feet, when they happened to tread upon them. The Indians were highly pleaſed, thinking they had made very advantageous bargains with the Spaniards, who carried away above 12000 ounces of pearls, ſome of which were very beautiful and well coloured, and as large as ſmall haſlenuts; but they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron. The Spaniards were now ſo well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of their voyage, that they reſolved to return home, and arrived in Galicia on the 16th of February, 1500, two months after they left Curiana, when Nino and Chriſtopher Guerra, who ſhared in the expence and profits of the voyage, were accuſed before the governor, by their own ſhip's crew, of having defrauded the king of his duty, which was the fifth part.

The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage, promoted the ſpirit of diſcovery, more eſpecially among ſuch as knew the propoſals made by Columbus, or had ſerved under him in his firſt two voyages. Of theſe none was ſo capable of proſecuting them as Vincent Yanez Pinzon. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out, at his own expence, a ſquadron of four ſtout ſhips, with which he ſailed to the Cape de Verd iſlands, where he took in refreſhments, and ſteered from St. Jago, about the

year

year 1500, firſt ſtanding to the ſouth and then to the weſt, and was the firſt ſubject of the crown of Caſtile and Leon that croſſed the equinoctial.

But he had hardly paſſed the line, when he met with a dreadful ſtorm, in which all on board expected to periſh: However, having run 240 leagues farther to the weſtward, they on the 26th of February diſcovered land at a great diſtance, which Yanez called Cabo de Conſolation, or Cape Comfort *, and ſounding, had 14 fathoms water. Captain Pinzon going on ſhore, took poſſeſſion of the country in the name of their Catholic majeſties, and endeavoured to the utmoſt of his power, though without effect, to induce the people to trade with him; for the natives being inflexible, and having no good opinion of theſe invaders, an engagement enſued, in which ſome were ſlain on both ſides.

This made captain Pinzon reſolve to retire and and continue his voyage, which he did to the mouth of the river Maranon, where he obſerved a mighty ſtruggle between the tide of ſalt water coming in, and a vaſt current of freſh water pouring down from the land. The country at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited on both ſides, but not being able to perſuade the inhabitants to traffick, he reſolved, without farther delay, to proceed toward Paria.

Yanez, on his arrival at Paria, took in Brazil wood, and then ſtruck over to the iſlands that lay in the way to Hiſpaniola: but when the ſhips were lying at anchor, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful ſtorm that two of the four ſunk in ſight of the others, with all the men; a third was forced from her anchors with 18 men, and carried out of ſight, and the fourth, though ſhe rode it out, beat ſo furiouſly, that the ſailors believing ſhe would be daſhed in pieces, went aſhore in the long-boat, and had

* It is now called Cape St. Auguſtin.

thoughts

thoughts of murdering all the Indians they found, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to deſtroy them: but the ſhip that had been driven to ſea with the 18 men returned, and the other which rode at anchor being ſaved, they ſailed to Hiſpaniola, where they refitted, and returned to Spain about the latter end of September; after having diſcovered 600 leagues of the coaſt of Paria.

It is here proper to remark, that Emanuel king of Portugal ſending a conſiderable fleet to the Eaſt-Indies *, under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral, in the year 1500; that admiral ſailing to the ſouth-weſt to avoid the calms on the coaſt of Guinea, was ſo happy as to diſcover Brazil, one of the richeſt provinces in South America; by mere accident. But it is now neceſſary to return to the diſcoveries made by the great Columbus.

The Fourth Voyage of COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, after receiving his inſtructions, ſet out in the year 1501 for Sevil, in order to ſuperintend the equipment of his ſquadron, conſiſting of four ſmall ſhips, with one hundred and forty men, including boys. All the neceſſary preparations being made, he ſailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May for St. Catherine's, from whence, on Wedneſday the 11th he departed for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portugueſe, who were ſaid to be in great diſtreſs; but before he arrived, the Moors had raiſed the ſiege. He therefore ſailed for the Grand Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for the voyage.

* The coaſt of India had been diſcovered by Vaſco de Gama, in 1498, while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage to the Weſt-Indies. See Vaſco de Gama's voyage, in our ſecond volume.

On

On the 25th, in the evening, he proceeded for the Weſt Indies, and the wind was ſo favourable, that without having handled the ſails, he arrived at the iſland of Martinico on the 15th of June; and having taken in a freſh ſupply of wood and water, he ſtood to the weſtward among the Caribbee iſlands. Thence he ſteered his courſe for St. Domingo, where he intended to change one of his ſhips, which was a bad ſailer, hoping to continue his voyage with more advantage, to the coaſt of Paria, in queſt of the ſtrait which he ſuppoſed to be near Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But that the new commendary, whom their majeſties had ſent to call Bovadilla to account, might not be ſurpriſed at his unexpected arrival, he, on the 29th of June, being near the port, diſpatched before him Peter de Terreros, one of his captains, to ſignify the occaſion he had for another ſhip, as well as for ſhelter againſt a ſtorm which he foreſaw; and on account of which, he deſired the commendary would not ſuffer a fleet that lay ready for ſailing to quit the harbour. So little inclined was this new governor to aſſiſt the admiral with another veſſel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and diſregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, conſiſting of eighteen ſail, to go to ſea without delay, on their return to Spain, having on board Bovadilla, Roldan, and the reſt of the admiral's enemies.

But they had hardly weathered the eaſt point of Hiſpaniola, before they were overtaken by a dreadful tempeſt, in which their admiral foundered with Bovadilla, and almoſt all the chief rebels; and of the whole eighteen ſhips, not above three or four were ſaved, while Columbus, who pronoſticated the ſtorm, ſheltered himſelf as well as he could under the land. On the ſecond day, however, the wind roſe to ſuch a pitch of fury, that his other three veſſels were forced out to ſea; where the Bermuda, the ſhip he wanted to exchange, muſt certainly have periſhed,

periſhed, had not ſhe been preſerved by the admirable ſkill and dexterity of D. Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the moſt expert ſeaman of his time. The ſhips being thus ſeparated, every one concluded the other was loſt, until, in a few days, they met again in the port of Azua, where, upon comparing their obſervations, it appeared that Bartholomew had weathered the ſtorm by running out to ſea, like an able ſailor, while Chriſtopher had avoided great part of the danger, by lying cloſe under ſhore, like a wiſe aſtronomer. Indeed the admiral's ſatisfaction was conſiderably diminiſhed, by the mortification and chagrin he felt, upon reflecting, that he was denied ſhelter in that very country which he himſelf had diſcovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain. This ſtorm, together with its conſequences, furniſhed his enemies with a pretence for ſaying, he had raiſed it by magic, for the deſtruction of the fleet bound for Spain; and what added more weight to this ſuppoſition, the only ſhip of the eighteen that arrived in Spain, was the Aguja or Needle, on board of which were 4000 peſos in gold, belonging to the admiral, while the other three, which reſiſted the fury of the ſtorm, were forced back to St. Domingo in a ſhattered condition.

Columbus having refreſhed his men in the harbour of Azua, ſailed to the port of Brazil, which the Indians call Gracchimo, to ſhelter himſelf from another ſtorm that was brewing; and thence departing July 14th, was becalmed in ſuch a manner, that inſtead of continuing his courſe, he was carried away by the current to certain iſlands near Jamaica, which being very ſmall and ſandy, he named Los Poros, or the Wells; becauſe, for want of freſh ſprings, he ordered his men to dig pits in the ſand, from which they drew water for the uſe of the ſhip. Then ſtanding to the ſouthward for the continent, he reached the iſlands of Guanara, near the pro-

ace now called Honduras, where his brother Bar-

tholomew

tholomew going aſhore with two boats, found people like thoſe of the other iſlands, a great number of pine trees, and pieces of lapis calaminaris, which being mixed with copper, ſome of the ſeamen miſtook for gold, and concealed accordingly. While he remained in this place, he deſcried a canoe as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, with an awning in the middle, made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike thoſe of the Venetian gondolas; under this cover, the women, children, and all the goods, were ſheltered from the weather; and, though the veſſel was manned by twenty-five ſtout Indians, they allowed themſelves to be taken without oppoſition.

Rejoicing at this opportunity of knowing the commodities of the continent, without danger, the admiral ordered the cargo to be examined, and found quilts and ſhirts of cotton, without ſleeves, curiouſly wrought, and dyed of ſeveral colours, together with large ſheets, in which the women wrapped themſelves; long wooden ſwords, edged on each ſide, with flint fixed in a groove, with thread and a bituminous matter, hatchets and bells of copper, with plates and crucibles for melting that metal. The proviſion conſiſted of ſuch roots and grain as are uſed for food in Hiſpaniola, and a ſort of liquor, made of maiz, reſembling Engliſh beer. They had alſo a good number of cacao nuts, which in New Spain paſs for money, and upon which they ſeemed to put a great value; for, notwithſtanding the conſternation with which they were ſeized, when they found themſelves priſoners among ſuch a ſtrange race of men, they never failed, when one of theſe nuts chanced to fall upon deck, to ſtoop down and take it up with marks of eagerneſs and concern, as a thing of great conſequence. Nor ought we to omit mentioning their extraordinary modeſty, which was ſo remarkable, that when ſome of them were pulled on board by their clouts, which gave way, they immediately covered their nudities with their hands, and the women wrapped

ped themſelves in their ſheets, with ſigns of ſhame and confuſion. This ſenſe of decorum had ſuch an effect upon the admiral, that he ordered them to be well uſed, reſtored their canoe, and gave them European commodities in exchange for thoſe articles of their merchandize which he thought proper to retain: however, he kept one old man called Giumbe, who ſeemed to be the wiſeſt and chief man of the whole, that from him he might learn ſome other material particulars of the country, and uſe him as an interpreter among the other Indians. This office he chearfully undertook, and faithfully diſcharged in the courſe of the voyage, as long as it continued among people who underſtood his language; and when he could be no longer ſerviceable, he was diſmiſſed with many valuable preſents, as a reward for his fidelity.

The admiral, though informed by this Indian of the great wealth, politeneſs, and ingenuity of the people who lived to the weſtward in new Spain, yet knowing as theſe countries lay to leeward, he could ſail thither at any time from Cuba, he reſolved at preſent to perſiſt in his deſign of diſcovering the ſtrait in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the South Sea, and reach the ſpice country; and accordingly turned to the caſtward towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he was told this ſtrait would be found. Nor was the information untrue; for the Indians meant a ſtrait of land or iſthmus, which he miſtook for a narrow gulph extending from ſea to ſea. In queſt of this ſtrait he ſailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Caſinus, becauſe there he found great plenty of trees, bearing a fruit ſo called by the natives of Hiſpaniola; and near this cape he ſaw people who wore painted ſhirts or jerkins, and clouts made of cotton, like coats of mail, ſo ſtrong as to defend them againſt the weapons uſed in that country, and even againſt the ſtroke of an European ſword. But farther to the eaſtward, near Cape Gracias a Dios, the natives are of a fierce aſpect and ſavage

ſavage diſpoſition, go ſtark naked, eat human fleſh, and fiſh raw as it is taken; and they make ſuch holes in their ears, as will admit an hen's egg; from which circumſtance the admiral denominated that coaſt, de Las Orejas, or, of the Ears. Turning ſtill to windward, on Sunday Auguſt 14th, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus went aſhore in the morning to hear maſs, with the colours, captains, and a good number of men; and on Wedneſday following, when they went to take poſſeſſion of the country for their Catholic majeſties, above one hundred Indians, loaded with proviſions, ran down to the ſhore, and on the approach of the boats, on a ſudden retired without ſpeaking one word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, employed the interpreter to allure them with horſe bells, beads, and other toys, which pleaſed them ſo much, that next day they returned in greater numbers, with ſeveral ſorts of proviſions, ſuch as hens of that country, which are better than thoſe of Europe; geeſe, roaſted-fiſh, and red and white beans, reſembling the kidney-beans of Spain. The country, though low, was green and beautiful, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees, and mirabolans, together with every ſort of fruit or proviſion to be found upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Here likewiſe were leopards, deer, and other animals. The people were like thoſe of the iſlands, except in their foreheads, which were not ſo high; their loins only were covered; they ſeemed to have no religion, and every nation ſpoke a particular language of its own. Their arms and bodies were ornamented with different figures, wrought into the ſkin by fire. The better ſort, inſtead of caps, wore red and white cotton cloths; ſome had ſhort jumps without ſleeves, that reached to their middle, and others had locks of hair hanging down on their foreheads: but on a feſtival, they painted their faces of various colours, ſo as to look very terrible and diabolical.

The admiral ſpent ſeventy days in ſailing ſixty leagues from the coaſt de Las Orejas, to the eaſtward, becauſe the wind and current were always contrary; but as there was good riding along the coaſt, he tacked to and fro, and dropped anchor every night under the land; and on the 14th of September, he reached a cape, which he called Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God, becauſe from thence the land trended off to the ſouth, and he could proſecute his voyage with the trade-wind.

On the 16th, being in want of water, the admiral ſent the boats into a river, at the entrance of which was ſuch a ripling, occaſioned by the current of the ſtream, and the wind from the ſea, that in returning, one of the boats, together with all her men, was loſt; ſo that it was named, the River de la Deſgracia, or of Diſaſter. Running ſtill to the ſouthward, he anchored on the 25th, near a town called Cariari, and in the neighbourhood of a little iſland named Quiriviri, which in people, ſoil, and ſituation, excelled every place he had yet ſeen: for the land is high, and abounds with paſturage, rivers, and woods. Cariari is ſituated near a great river; to the banks of which a multitude of people reſorted, ſome armed with bows and arrows, and others with ſtaves of palm-tree, as black as a coal, and as hard as horn, pointed with the bones of fiſhes; a third ſet were furniſhed with clubs: they ſeemed to have aſſembled with intention to defend their country from invaſion. But, perceiving the pacific diſpoſition of the Chriſtians, they expreſſed a deſire of bartering their commodities, conſiſting of arms, cotton, jerkins, ſheets, and gauninis, which are pieces of pale gold, worn about their necks like relics. With theſe articles they ſwam to the boats; for the Spaniards did not go aſhore that day or the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but preſented them with ſeveral trinkets, that they might look upon the Chriſtians, as men who deſpiſed all mercenary views. The

leſs the admiral ſeemed to regard the traffic, the more eagerneſs they diſcovered to trade with him, and made ſigns from the land, inviting his people to come among them; but theſe proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on board in a heap upon the ſhore, where they were found the Wedneſday following, when the Spaniards landed. The Indians, ſuppoſing the ſtrangers did not confide in their ſincerity, ſent down an ancient man, of an awful preſence, carrying a flag upon a ſtaff, attended by two young girls, with guaninis about their necks: theſe, at his earneſt requeſt, were conducted by the boat's crew on board the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed, and fed, and ſent on ſhore again, where they were received with much ſatisfaction, by the old man and fifty natives aſſembled on the beach.

Next day, the admiral's brother going aſhore to learn ſomething of the country, two of their chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms, made him ſit down upon the graſs between them. In this ſituation he began to interrogate them, and ordered the ſecretary to write down their anſwers; but, they no ſooner ſaw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were ſeized with conſternation, and ran away, believing that theſe were implements of ſorcery: for they had performed ſome ceremonies of exorciſm before they approached the Spaniards. D. Bartholomew having quieted their apprehenſions, viſited their town, where, in a great wooden palace, covered with canes, he ſaw ſeveral tombs, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; and in another two human carcaſſes wrapped up in cotton ſheets, without emitting the leaſt odour: over each of theſe catacombs was a board, with the figures of beaſts carved upon it; and on ſome of them were the effigies of the defunct, adorned with guaninis, beads, and other ornaments upon which they ſet a value.

The admiral was ſo deſirous of being better acquainted with the nature of this country, and the manners of the inhabitants, who ſeemed to be more civilized than any he had yet ſeen, that he ordered ſeven to be taken, and of theſe he choſe two that ſeemed to be the moſt intelligent, ſending the reſt away with ſome preſents, and an aſſurance that their companions were detained for no other reaſon, than to ſerve as guides and interpreters along the coaſt, and that in a little time, they would be certainly ſet at liberty. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, they imputed the detention to avarice; and next day, a number of them coming down to the ſhore, ſent four ambaſſadors on board of the admiral, to treat for the ranſom of their countrymen, with a preſent of two wild hogs, which, though ſmall, were very ſweet. Theſe deputies were entertained with great civility; and, though he would not comply with their requeſt, ſent them away well ſatisfied, and amply paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted on board by a kind of wild cat, of a greyiſh colour, caught in a wood by a ſeaman, after he had cut off one of its fore legs. This animal, which is as big as a ſmall greyhound, leaps like a ſquirrel from tree to tree, and not only faſtens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it often ſuſpends itſelf, either for reſt or ſport. The hogs, though naturally very ferocious, no ſooner ſaw it, than they ran about the deck in a fright; and the admiral perceiving their terror, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which immediately wound its tail about the hog's ſnout, and with the foreleg that remained, faſtening upon its poll, would ſoon have made a prey of it, had not the people interpoſed. From theſe circumſtances it appeared, that thoſe cats hunt like the wolves in Spain.

On the 5th of October, the admiral ſailed into the bay of Caravaro, ſix leagues in length, and above three in breadth, in which are many ſmall iſlands; and

and between them the ſhips ſail as it were in ſtreets, bruſhing the trees on each ſide. The veſſels being anchored in this bay, the boats were ſent to one of the iſlands, where the men found twenty canoes, and their people hard by them on the ſhore, ſtark naked, with little plates, or eagles of gold about their necks. They expreſſed no ſymptoms of fear; but, for three horſe-bells, gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and ſaid, there was great plenty of that metal upon the continent, at a very ſmall diſtance from this place.

Next day the boat's crew went aſhore upon the main land, where they met with ten canoes full of people, who, refuſing to barter away their plates, two of them were taken, that the admiral might have a chance for acquiring ſome material intelligence, by means of the Cariari interpreters; and they confirmed what the iſlanders had ſaid of the gold, which was at the diſtance of two days journey up in the country. From this bay, the admiral ſailed into another hard by, called Aburena; on the 17th he put to ſea; and arriving at the river Guaiga, twelve leagues from hence, commanded the boats to be rowed aſhore, where they were violently aſſaulted by above one hundred Indians, who ran furiouſly into the water up to the middle, brandiſhing lances, blowing horns, beating drums, and throwing ſea-water toward the Spaniards, at whom they likewiſe ſpurted chewed herbs, with marks of deteſtation and defiance. Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, they were appeaſed by the peaceable behaviour of the Chriſtians, and for a few horſe-bells, exchanged ſixteen gold plates, to the value of one hundred and fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuſcade for the boats, and perceiving that nobody would venture to land without ſecurity, they ruſhed into the water, as they had done the preceding day, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats, that lay upon their oars, would not return to the

ſhips. The Spaniards, exaſperated at their inſolent behaviour, wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow, and at the ſame time the admiral fired a cannon, the exploſion of which terrified them to ſuch a degree, that they fled with precipitation. Then four men landing, invited them to return by ſigns, in conſequence of which they laid down their arms; and coming back, exchanged their plates very peaceably.

Having procured ſamples of what this part of the country produced, the admiral proceeded to Catiba; and caſting anchor in the mouth of a great river, perceived the natives aſſembling by the ſound of drums and horns. They ſent two of their number along-ſide in a canoe, and theſe having diſcourſed with the Cariari interpreters, came on board without any apprehenſion, and gave their plates to the admiral, who in return preſented them with ſome baubles. This canoe was ſucceeded by another, with three men, who behaved in the ſame manner. And amity being thus eſtabliſhed, the Spaniards went aſhore, and found a great number of Indians with their king, who differed in nothing from the reſt, but in being covered with one leaf of a tree, becauſe it rained very hard. This ſovereign, by exchanging his plate, ſet an example to his ſubjects, who bartered to the number of nineteen, of pure gold. Here the Chriſtians ſaw a great maſs of wall, ſeemingly built of ſtone and lime; and as this was the firſt part of the Indies where the admiral diſcovered ſigns of ſtructure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

Sailing to the eaſtward, he paſſed Cobravo; and the wind blowing freſh, held on his courſe to five places of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians ſaid the gold was gathered, and the plates manufactured. Next day he arrived at a town called Cubiga, from which he continued his voyage to another, which he called Porto-bello, or the Beautiful harbour; becauſe it is ſpacious, populous,

lous, and encompaſſed by a well cultivated country. He entered this harbour on the 2d day of November, paſſing between two ſmall iſlands, within which the ſhips lay cloſe to the ſhore: and for ſeven days, during which he continued here, on account of the rain and bad weather, canoes came conſtantly on board, with people from the adjacent country, to barter proviſions, and bottoms of fine-ſpun cotton, which they exchanged for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th, he ſailed from Porto-bello, eight leagues to the eaſtward; but, next day, was forced back four leagues by ſtreſs of weather; and putting in among the iſlands near the continent, where now the town of Nombre de Dios ſtands, called the place Puerta de Baſtimentos, or the Port of Proviſions, becauſe all thoſe ſmall iſlands were covered with grain. A boat well manned being ſent in purſuit of a canoe, the Indians were ſo terrified, that they leaped into the ſea, and eſcaped, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Spaniards; for when the boat approached any one of them, he dived like a duck, and came up again at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from the place.

Here the admiral continued, refitting the ſhips, and mending the caſks, till the 23d of November; when he ſailed eaſtward to a place called Guiga, where the boat's crew being ſent on ſhore, found above three hundred Indians, ready to trade for ſuch proviſions as they had, and ſome ſmall pieces of gold that hung at their ears and noſes: but without tarrying in this place, he put into a ſmall port, which he called Retrete, or Retired, becauſe it could not contain above ſix ſhips, and the width of the mouth did not exceed fifteen or twenty paces, though the rocks on both ſides appeared above water as ſharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was not to be fathomed. The admiral was decoyed into this confined harbour, by the miſrepreſentations of thoſe who

were

were ſent to view it, and who gave a favourable account of it, becauſe here the ſhips muſt lie cloſe to the ſhore, ſo as that they would have the better opportunity of trading with the natives. He lay nine days in this narrow place, to which he was confined by bad weather; and at firſt the Indians came very familiarly to trade, until they were provoked, by the inſolence and diſſolute behaviour of the ſeamen, to acts of open hoſtility. As their numbers daily increaſed, their courage roſe to ſuch a pitch of reſolution, that they came down and threatened to board the ſhips; and the admiral, having in vain attempted to appeaſe them by patience and civility, found it abſolutely neceſſary to alter his deportment, in order to convince them of his importance. He therefore ordered his people to fire ſome pieces of cannon, and they anſwered this noiſe with ſhouts, threſhing the trees with ſtaves, as if they deſpiſed the exploſion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder, uſed to terrify them. He therefore loaded one of the great guns with ſhot, and pointing it at a number aſſembled on an hillock, the ball fell in the midſt of them, and ſoon made them ſenſible there was ſomething more than empty noiſe: for they inſtantly fled with ſuch conſternation, that for the future they durſt not appear even behind the mountains. Theſe people were the beſt ſhaped Indians of any he had yet ſeen; tall and thin, without thoſe prominent bellies, frequent in this country. In this harbour were abundance of very large crocodiles or alligators, that ſleep aſhore, and emit a muſky ſcent, and are ſo ravenous, that they will devour men if they can take them at advantage, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving, that the violent winds from the eaſt and north-eaſt continued to blow without ceaſing, and that he could no longer trade with the inhabitants of this coaſt, he reſolved to return and ſatisfy himſelf of the truth of what was reported, con-

concerning the mines of Veragua; and therefore, on the 5th of December, ſailed back to Porto-bello.

Next day, the wind ſhifted to the weſt, but as he did not think this was a ſettled gale, he bore up againſt it for ſome days, during which the weather was ſo very unſettled and unruly, that the ſailors could ſcarce ſtand upon deck; for the ſky ſeemed to be ſinking in a deluge of rain, the whole air appeared like a furnace of lightning, and the thunder roared ſo inceſſantly, that the people miſtook it for the firing of guns, as ſignals of diſtreſs. The men, who were conſtantly wet to the ſkin, and expoſed to theſe dreadful peals and flaſhes, began to be terrified, and to deſpair; eſpecially as the wind ſhifted in their teeth whenever they endeavoured to make any harbour: and in the midſt of this danger and diſtraction, they were in the utmoſt danger of being overwhelmed by a dreadful water-ſpout that roſe from the ſea to the clouds, as thick as an ordinary butt, whirling about, and daſhing with a moſt tremendous roar. To complete their misfortunes, they loſt ſight of the ſhip Caino, which they concluded was loſt, until they ſaw her again at the end of three diſmal dark days, in which ſhe had been obliged to caſt anchor, and afterwards was driven to ſea, with the loſs of her anchor and boat.

The ſhips were almoſt ſhattered to pieces by the tempeſt, and the men quite ſpent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, when they were relieved by a calm that laſted two days; during which they were ſurrounded by an infinite number of ſharks, ſo greedy, that they would bite at the hook though baited only with a red rag. Many of theſe were caught, and out of the belly of one, was taken an entire tortoiſe, that afterwards lived on board; and from another, the whole head of a ſhark which we had cut off and thrown into the ſea: ſo that the individuals of this ſpecies ſeem to prey upon one another. Though ſome of the people looked upon them as ominous fiſh, and all allowed they

they furniſhed a very indifferent meal, yet the ſailors ate them with great eagerneſs: for by this time they had been eight months at ſea, and conſumed all their proviſion, except the biſcuit; which, from the heat and moiſture of the climate, was ſo full of maggots, that many delayed eating till it was dark, that they might not ſee the vermin they were obliged to ſwallow.

On the 17th, the admiral entered an harbour, three leagues eaſt of Pennon, which the Indians call Huiva, and there permitted his men to repoſe themſelves for three days; during which, they perceived the inhabitants lived in huts, built upon the tops of trees, a ſtrange cuſtom, which muſt have been owing to their fear of wild beaſts, land-floods, or enemies of their own ſpecies; for all along that coaſt, the different nations are at war with one another. From this harbour or bay, he ſailed on the 20th; but no ſooner was he at ſea, than the tempeſt began to rage again, and he was driven into another port: from whence he took his departure on the 3d, the weather being ſomewhat more moderate. But as if Providence had reſolved to thwart the expedition, the wind freſhened and became contrary, ſo that he was bandied about, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of every perſon on board, until he made the harbour where he had been before, on the 12th of the ſame month. Here he ſtaid from December the 26th, till the 3d of January, when, having repaired the ſhip Gallega, and taken on board a ſufficient quantity of Indian corn, wood, and water, he ſailed back toward Veragua, with contrary winds and foul weather. Indeed, he was ſo perplexed and fatigued with currents, tempeſts, and unfavourable gales, between Veragua and Porto-bello, that he called it Coſta de Contraſtes, or the Coaſt of Contention.

Two days after, he caſt anchor near a river which the Indians called Yebra, and the admiral Bethlem; becauſe he arrived on the feaſt of the Epiphany. To the

the weſtward of this was the river of Veragua, the water of which was very ſhallow, but the boats went up to the town where the gold mines were ſaid to be. At firſt the Indians ſtood upon their guard, and threatened to oppoſe the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian interpreter going aſhore, and giving a favourable account of the Chriſtians, they were appeaſed, and bartered away twenty gold plates, ſome hollow pieces, like joints of reeds, and ſome grains that never were melted, which they ſaid they had gathered a great way off, upon uncouth mountains.

On the 9th of June, the admiral's ſhip and the Biſcayna went up the river Bethlem, and the Indians came to exchange ſuch things as they had, particularly fiſh; which at certain times of the year, come from the ſea up theſe rivers in incredible numbers: they likewiſe bartered ſome gold for pins, beads, and hawks bells. Next day they were joined by the other two ſhips, that could not come in the preceding day, for want of water at the river's mouth. On the third day after their arrival, Diego Bartholomew went up the river with the boats, to the town of Quibio; ſo the Indians call their king; who hearing of the lieutenant's deſign, came down in his canoes to meet him, and they received each other in a very friendly manner. Next day, he went on board to viſit the admiral, who made him ſome preſents, and he retired very well pleaſed, after a converſation that laſted a whole hour, during which his people exchanged ſome gold for bells, and other toys.

On the 24th, the river ſuddenly ſwelled to a ſurpriſing pitch, and ruſhed down with ſuch impetuoſity, that the admiral's ſhip parted her cable, and running foul of the Gallega, brought the fore-maſt by the board, and both veſſels were in great danger of periſhing. This ſudden riſe of the river, was ſuppoſed to proceed from ſome terrible ſhower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua, which were named

named St. Chriſtopher's, becauſe the tops of them reached above the clouds.

On the 6th of February, the ſhips being caulked and refitted, Diego Bartholomew, and ſixty-eight men, were ſent in boats to the river of Veragua, and rowing up, arrived at the cacique's town, where he ſtaid a whole day, inquiring the neareſt way to the mines: in conſequence of the intelligence he received, they travelled four leagues and an half; and next day, arriving at the place to which they were directed, gathered ſome gold about the roots of trees, which were very thick, and of a prodigious height. As the ſole aim of this journey was to get information concerning the mines, they immediately returned to the ſhips, very well pleaſed with the ſample: though, as they afterwards learned, the mines from which they had picked it were not thoſe of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to a people at war with Quibio, who had directed the Spaniards to his enemy's mines inſtead of his own.

On the 14th of February 1503, Diego Bartholomew, with fifty men, followed by a boat, marched to the river of Urira, ſeven leagues weſtward from Bethlem, and next day were met by the cacique, attended by twenty men, who preſented him with proviſions, and ſome gold plates were exchanged. Having reſted a while in this place, the Chriſtians were conducted to the town, where they were hoſpitably entertained with victuals and lodging; and, ſoon after their arrival, viſited by the cacique of Dururi, a neighbouring town: he was attended by a great number of his people, who brought ſome plates to exchange, and told the lieutenant, that up the country there were caciques who had abundance of gold, and a great number of men armed like the Spaniards.

Next day Diego Bartholomew ſent back twenty men to the ſhips, and with the other thirty, proceeded

ceeded towards Zobabra, where he ſaw above ſix leagues of ground full of maiz, and cultivated like corn fields. Here he was kindly entertained by the natives, as well as at another town, called Cateba, where he purchaſed ſome plates: but having now advanced a great way from the ſhips, without finding any harbour along the coaſt, or river larger than that of Bethlem, where he could conveniently ſettle a colony, according to the intention of the admiral, he returned with a good quantity of gold, to the place from which he had taken his departure, and in which a reſolution was now taken, to make a ſettlement, with eighty men under his command. Proper diſpoſitions being made, they began to build houſes, about a cannon's ſhot from the mouth of the river Bethlem, the materials being timber, and the thatch conſiſting of the leaves of palm-trees that grew along the ſhore. Several pieces of cannon, with powder, proviſion, and other neceſſaries, were lodged in a large magazine erected for that purpoſe; while a quantity of wine, biſcuit, oil, vinegar, cheeſe, and grain, was depoſited on board of the ſhip Gallega, to be left with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fiſhing-tackle, for the uſe of the colony. Indeed theſe laſt could not fail of being ſignally uſeful, in a country that abounds with ſuch quantities of fiſh. The natives took them with hooks made of tortoiſe-ſhell, which they cut with a thread. Among others, the ſea produces a very ſmall fiſh, called titi, which fly up to the ſurface of the water, where they are caught in little matts, or ſmall nets, and being wrapped in leaves, are dried in an oven, ſo that they may be kept for a long time. They likewiſe catch abundance of pilchards, which being purſued by other fiſh, will leap two or three paces upon the dry land; though they are alſo taken in another manner. In the middle of their canoes, from ſtem to ſtern, the Indians raiſe a partition of palm-tree leaves, two yards high, and plying about the river, make a noiſe by beating the

the ſhore with their oars, ſo as to frighten the pilchards, which, miſtaking the leaves for land, leap upon them in great quantities, and fall into the canoe. Beſides theſe, they take great numbers of other fiſh, that paſs along the coaſt in ſhoals, and bake them, as already obſerved. As for liquor, they have plenty of a very palatable kind of beer made of maiz; and agreeable wine, made of the juice and pith of a certain kind of palm-tree, as well as of a fruit that reſembles a pine apple.

Every thing being completed for the maintenance of the new colony, the admiral reſolved to return to Spain without further delay; when his voyage was effectually retarded, by want of water to carry him out of the river, as well as by the terrible ſurf that beat upon the ſhore, threatening immediate deſtruction to any veſſel that ſhould approach it. This circumſtance was the more unfortunate, as the rains, which alone could ſwell the river, were paſt, and the bottoms of the ſhips worm-eaten through and through. To complete the diſaſter, it was caſually diſcovered by means of an interpreter, that Quibio intended to ſet fire to the houſes of the Chriſtians, who had made a ſettlement in his dominions, contrary to the inclinations of him and his people. In this dilemma, the admiral concerted meaſures with his brother, for taking the cacique priſoner, together with his principal men, and carrying them to Spain as hoſtages for the good behaviour of his ſubjects. Accordingly on the 30th of March, the lieutenant, with above ſeventy men, proceeded to the village of Veragua, conſiſting of ſtraggling houſes; and at a ſmall diſtance from it, received a meſſage from the cacique, deſiring he would come up to his houſe, which ſtood by itſelf on a hill: notwithſtanding this intimation, he reſolved to go up with five men only, after having ordered the reſt to follow, two and two, at ſome diſtance, and when they ſhould hear a muſket fired, to beſet the houſe, that nobody might eſcape. Quibio meeting him

him at the door, was immediately ſeized by the lieutenant, and the muſket being fired, the reſt of the Spaniards ſurrounded the houſe, in which were about thirty perſons, who ſeeing their prince taken, made no oppoſition. But as they were conveying the cacique on board, he contrived to jump out of the boat into the river; and as it began to be dark, it was impoſſible to hear or ſee how he went aſhore: ſo that after a fruitleſs ſearch, they were fain to row on board of the admiral, overwhelmed with ſhame and vexation.

Next day the lieutenant, finding it would be impracticable to overtake the fugitive Indians, returned with his men to the ſhips, and preſented the plunder of Quibio's houſe, worth three hundred ducats in plates and eagles, to his brother; who, having deducted the fifth part for their catholic majeſties, divided the reſt among thoſe who went upon the expedition.

The colony being now ſettled under proper regulations, and the river ſwelled by the rains, Columbus ordered his ſhips to be lightened, and towed by the boats over the bar, on which all the three ſtruck, though without receiving much damage. They then took in every thing they had been obliged to unſtow, and lay waiting for a fair wind to ſail for Hiſpaniola, from whence the admiral propoſed to ſend ſupplies to his new ſettlement. In this interval, the boat providentially went aſhore, and contributed to the ſafety of many Spaniards, who otherwiſe muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the Indians: for Quibio no ſooner perceived the ſhips at ſea, than he reſolved to attack the ſettlement; and the woods, by which it was ſurrounded, facilitated the enterpriſe. But the lieutenant, who was a man of great reſolution, ſallied out upon the enemy, and ſeven or eight of his people following his example, ſoon compelled the ſavages to retire into the wood, juſt as the boat reached the ſhore: though not before they had killed a Spaniard,

dropped all their anchors, though it was the ſheet anchor alone that brought them up; and in the morning there was but one ſtrand of the cable uncut, ſo that if this had given way, they muſt have periſhed upon the ſharp rocks.

The wind being abated, he ſailed to an Indian town on the coaſt of Cuba, called Mattaia, where having purchaſed ſome refreſhments, as the winds, currents, and condition of the ſhips would not permit him to bear up for Hiſpaniola, he ſtood over to Jamaica, pumping and baling all the way. Yet, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the water roſe up almoſt to the deck; and when day appeared, he put into an harbour called Puerto Bueno, but finding no freſh water in this place, he ſteered to the eaſtward into another, called Santa Gloria, which is encloſed by rocks, where finding it impoſſible to keep the ſhips afloat, he ran them aſhore along-ſide of each other, and propping them up on each ſide, ſo as to keep them upright, ordered ſheds to be made on the poop and forecaſtle, under which the men might be ſecure from the inclemencies of the weather, as well as the attempts of the Indians. This expedient he choſe rather than that of fortifying himſelf on ſhore, becauſe he ſhould be more able to reſtrain his ſeamen from irregularities, which might have incenſed the natives, on whom he entirely depended for ſubſiſtence, his own proviſions having been either ſpoiled or conſumed. As the natives reſorted in great numbers to the ſhips with what they had to barter, he appointed two perſons to ſuperintend the market, and prevent abuſes or frauds of either ſide, as well as to divide the purchaſe equally among the people, that nothing might be embezzled or engroſſed. His regulations were alike agreeable to his own men, who were plentifully ſupplied; and to the Indians, who exchanged two little animals like rabbits, which they called hutics, for a bit of tin, and cakes of their bread named zabi, for two or three glaſs beads, though

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for a quantity of any thing, they received a hawk's bell; and a cacique or great man was ſometimes preſented with a ſmall looking glaſs, red cap, or pair of ſciſſars.

Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, the admiral's next care was, to conſult with his officers about the means of tranſporting themſelves to Hiſpaniola; and, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that two canoes ſhould be ſent thither, with an account of the misfortune which had happened to the admiral, and a letter to the governor, deſiring that a ſhip might be ſent immediately to his relief. The canoes being choſen for this dangerous expedition, James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's chief ſecretary, embarked in one, with ſix Chriſtians, and ten Indians to row; and Bartholomew Fieſco, a Genoeſe gentleman, went on board of the other, with the like number of hands; this laſt having orders to return immediately with the news of their ſafe arrival, while Mendez ſhould continue his route over land to St. Domingo.

In a little time after the departure of theſe canoes, the men who were left began to grow ſickly, in conſequence of the fatigue they had undergone, and the change of proviſion; and (which is the caſe on all ſuch occaſions) a ſpirit of diſcontent diffuſed itſelf among them. They now caballed and murmured in private againſt the admiral, ſaying, he had no intention to return to Spain, where he was in diſgrace with their catholic majeſties; nor could he have any hopes of aſſiſtance from Hiſpaniola, the governor of which had already refuſed him ſhelter in his diſtreſs: and laſtly, they ſuggeſted that Mendez and Fieſco were both loſt, otherwiſe the latter would have returned by this time, according to his promiſe. For theſe reaſons, it was their buſineſs to conſult their own ſafety, by leaving the admiral, who was now lame in all his limbs with the gout, and follow their companions to Hiſpaniola, where

they would be the better received by the commendary Ares, on account of their having abandoned Columbus, whom he hated. Theſe arguments were ſuggeſted and encouraged by two brothers, called Porras, who aſſured them of protection on their return to Spain, from the biſhop D. John de Fonſeca, as well as from the treaſurer Morales, by whom their ſiſter was kept as a concubine: and ſuch effect had the inſinuations of theſe ringleaders, one of whom was captain of the ſhip Bermuda, and the other comptroller of the ſquadron, that eight and forty of the men were perſuaded to follow them at all events, and to provide themſelves with every thing neceſſary for the execution of their purpoſe.

On the 2d day of January, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had choſen for their leader, aſcending the quarter-deck, where the admiral lay confined to his bed, "What is the reaſon, my lord, (ſaid he) "that you will not return to Spain, but keep us in "this place to periſh?" To this inſolent interrogation, Columbus, ſuſpecting the conſpiracy, very calmly replied, That he did not ſee how they could return to Spain, until they ſhould be aſſiſted with a veſſel from Hiſpaniola; that no man was more deſirous than he to be gone, as well on account of his own private intereſt, as for the ſafety of his people; and that, for their ſatisfaction, he would again ſummon all his officers to conſult about the means of gratifying their inclination. This judicious remonſtrance had no weight with Porras, who ſaid, it was now no time to talk; for that he ſhould either embark immediately, or ſtay there by himſelf: then crying with a loud voice, "I am going to Spain with thoſe that "will follow me," all his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the forecaſtle, poop, and round-tops, ſo that uproar and univerſal confuſion enſued. The admiral, though lame in bed, hearing the noiſe of this tumult, ſtarted up in order to quell the mutiny, but was with-held by

by his ſervants, who were afraid that he would be murdered by the conſpirators. They likewiſe diſarmed and confined his brother Diego Bartholomew, who had bravely ruſhed out upon the mutineers, with an half pike in his hand, and entreated Porras to be gone, without doing further miſchief, or making any attempt upon the life of Columbus, for which they could not fail of being one day ſeverely puniſhed. He did not think proper to regard this caution, but ſeizing ten canoes which the admiral had purchaſed from the Indians, embarked with all his followers, who expreſſed as much joy as if they had been already landed in Spain. Upon this occaſion, a good number of the reſt, who were not concerned in the combination, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their fellows, and deſpairing of relief, deſired to be taken on board, to the infinite ſorrow and mortification of the admiral, and thoſe few who remained with the ſick. In all probability, had the people been in health, he would have been deſerted by the whole company, except his brother, and his own faithful ſervants. The mutineers in the canoes rowed towards the eaſt part of Jamaica, from whence Mendez and Fieſco had taken their departure, and in the way committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, adviſing them to apply for redreſs and repayment to the admiral, who was the cauſe of all the injuries they ſuſtained, and to put him to death in caſe he ſhould refuſe to give them ſatisfaction: for his deſign in ſtaying, was no other than to ſubject and involve them in ſuch miſery and oppreſſion as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other iſland.

Having in this manner done their endeavours to embroil the admiral with the natives, they began their voyage for Hiſpaniola, with ſome Indians, whom they compelled to go on board every canoe as rowers. They had not made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, began to freſhen, and

the ſea to riſe; they ſhipped ſome water, and being unacquainted with the methods of managing thoſe veſſels, reſolved to lighten them, by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the ſea. This inhuman ſcheme was executed on ſome, and the reſt leaping over-board, ſwam until they were weary; then hanging by the canoes to breathe a little, the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands; ſo that eighteen of thoſe poor wretches periſhed in this deplorable manner; and not one would have eſcaped, had not they kept a few to ſteer them back to Jamaica, as they now thought it impracticable to proſecute their voyage. When they landed, a council was held, in which ſome propoſed to take the advantage of the eaſterly wind and currents, for running over to Cuba, from whence they could have a ſhort cut to Hiſpaniola: others were of opinion, that they ſhould return, and make peace with their admiral, or deprive him by force of the commodities and arms that were ſtill in his poſſeſſion: but by a majority of voices it was agreed, they ſhould wait for a calm, and put to ſea again directly for Hiſpaniola. For this opportunity they tarried a whole month, during which they ravaged the whole neighbourhood of Aramaquique, which was the name of that town and diſtrict, and having made two unſucceſsful efforts to perform the voyage, marched by land to the weſtward, plundering the defenceleſs natives and the weak villages in their way.

With regard to the admiral, he exerted all his addreſs and induſtry to efface the bad impreſſions which the mutineers had made among the Indians; ſo that they continued to ſupply him with proviſions, while he employed his care and humanity for the relief of the ſick, until almoſt all his people were recovered: but as the daily expence of ſubſiſtence had produced a ſcarcity among the Indians, who ſow very little more than is juſt neceſſary for their own occaſions, they began to be remiſs in their attendance, eſpecially

ly as they were already ſtocked with the commodities of the Chriſtians. They were likewiſe influenced by the deſertion and malicious inſinuations of ſuch a number of the Spaniards, who had left their chief in a ſituation which no longer commanded obedience and reſpect. In this dilemma, Columbus, with his wonted ſagacity, fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with thoſe ſavages. Knowing that in three days there would be an eclipſe of the moon, he ſent an Indian of Hiſpaniola, who was on board, to aſſemble the principal inhabitants of the diſtrict, that he might confer with them about an affair that concerned them nearly; and they obeying the ſummons, he told them by his interpreter, he and his people were Chriſtians, and believed in God, who created the heaven and earth, protected the righteous, and puniſhed the wicked; and therefore would not permit the rebellious Spaniards to paſs over to Hiſpaniola, though he had by his providence conducted Mendez and Fieſco to that iſland, becauſe the intent of their voyage was laudable; that the ſame almighty and all-juſt Being was incenſed againſt the Indians for having neglected to ſupply his people with proviſions, and determined to puniſh them with plague and famine; as a certain token or preſage of which, they would that very night ſee the moon riſe with an angry and bloody aſpect, to denote the miſchief that would certainly fall upon them.

This prophecy had different effects upon the Indians, ſome of whom were terrified, while others ridiculed it as an idle ſtory: but when they perceived the moon in reality eclipſed, and perceived the darkneſs increaſing as ſhe roſe, univerſal conſternation prevailed among them, and they came running from all quarters, loaded with proviſion, and entreated the admiral with loud cries and lamentations, to intercede with God in their behalf, that his wrath might be averted, and they would for the future take care to

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ſupply all his wants. In conſequence of this promiſe, Columbus ſaid he would uſe his influence with God, and accordingly ſhut himſelf up, while they remained without, howling, and imploring his aſſiſtance. When he perceived the eclipſe beginning to go off, he came out of his cabin, bade them be of good cheer, for he had prayed in their favour to God, who had forgiven them, on their promiſe of being kind and hoſpitable to the Chriſtians: and, as a teſtimony of his forgiveneſs, they would ſpeedily ſee the moon lay aſide her wrathful countenance, and ſhine with her former ſplendour.

His prognoſtic being verified, they praiſed the God of the Chriſtians, and ever after continued to provide plentifully for the ſubſiſtence of the admiral and his people: for though they had formerly ſeen ſuch eclipſes, they did not think it was poſſible to foretel them, without an immediate correſpondence with the Deity, and therefore conſidered Columbus as a particular favourite of heaven.

Eight months having elapſed ſince the departure of Mendez and Fieſco, of whom there was not yet the leaſt intelligence, the people began to be dejected, ſuppoſing the meſſengers had either periſhed at ſea, or been killed by the Indians of Hiſpaniola, in their way to St. Domingo. Theſe fears were confirmed by the information of the natives, who ſaid they had ſeen a canoe overſet, driven upon the coaſt by the current. Theſe apprehenſions increaſed every day, and at laſt produced a ſecond conſpiracy, at the head of which was one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, who, with two companions, called Zamora and Villatoro, formed a ſcheme for deſerting from the admiral in imitation of the other mutineers; but the execution of this project was prevented by the arrival of a veſſel ſent by the governor of Hiſpaniola. The captain, whoſe name was James de Eſcobar, having come to an anchor near the wrecks, viſited the admiral with compliments from the commendary, who being unprovided with a ſhip ſuffi-

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cient to carry off ſuch a number of men, had ſent a caſk of wine and two flitches of bacon in a preſent; and theſe being delivered, Eſcobar, without waiting for a letter, weighed anchor, and departed that ſame evening. Though Columbus was extremely mortified at his abrupt behaviour, he affected to ſay that the caraval had ſailed by his directions, becauſe, ſhe being too ſmall to convey the whole company, he was reſolved to ſtay for a larger veſſel, in which they might all embark at once. This declaration had ſuch an effect upon the conſpirators, that they poſtponed their enterprize: but the truth was, Lares, governor of Hiſpaniola, being apprehenſive that the admiral, upon his return to Spain, would be reinſtated in the government of that iſland, had ſent Eſcobar to reconnoitre his ſituation, and ſee whether or not he might be eaſily deſtroyed. By this caraval, however, Columbus received certain intelligence of the ſafe arrival of Mendez and Fieſco, at Hiſpaniola, and did not doubt but that he ſhould be relieved in conſequence of their remonſtrances.

They had embarked from the eaſtermoſt point of Jamaica, and continued rowing and paddling two days, during which they ſuſtained extremity of heat, thirſt, and fatigue; for their freſh water was almoſt expended the firſt day, and ſome of the Indians actually died for want of refreſhment. When the ſecond day elapſed without their ſeeing land, they began to ſuſpect they had not taken the right courſe, and univerſal deſpondence enſued: but their hopes were revived, when they ſaw the moon riſe over land, which was a ſmall iſland called Nazabazza, at the diſtance of eight leagues from Hiſpaniola. Thither they rowed with their utmoſt efforts, and next morning going aſhore, found it a barren rock, without tree, ſhrub, or ſprig; nevertheleſs, they took up plenty of rain water from the holes of the rocks, and ſome of them drank to ſuch exceſs, as produced dropſies, and other dangerous diſtempers. Having reſted

exchange for commodities, with which they were ſupplied by his direction.

Among thoſe of the ſide of the admiral who ſuffered in the engagement, was Peter de Ledeſma the pilot, who ſwam aſhore at Bethlem. This man, having received a number of wounds in the fray, fell over the rocks, and was not found till next day in the evening, when the Indians, to their utter amazement, diſcovered him alive. His ſkull was laid open, ſo that his brains appeared, his arm was almoſt cut off, the calf of one leg hung down to his ancle, and one foot was ſliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithſtanding theſe deſperate wounds, he frightened the Indians with curſes and threats in ſuch a manner, that they fled from him with the utmoſt conſternation; and his condition being known, the admiral ordered him to be attended by the ſurgeon; and to the ſurprize of every one the man recovered and did well.

All diſſentions among the Spaniards being thus removed, the Indians grew more cautious of giving offence, and carefully ſupplied them with proviſion: and a year being elapſed ſince the Chriſtians were wrecked upon the iſland, the ſhip we have already mentioned, which Mendez bought with the admiral's money at St. Domingo, arrived in Jamaica. Columbus with his whole company, embarking on the 28th of June, ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, though the wind and current were contrary, and, after a troubleſome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of Auguſt 1504. Here he was received with demonſtrations of uncommon civility and regard by the governor, who lodged him in his own houſe, and fawned upon him with the moſt abject ſubmiſſions; though this hoſpitality was altogether affectation; for he ſet Porras at liberty, and threatened to puniſh thoſe who were concerned in apprehending that rebel. When the admiral's ſhip was refitted, and another hired for the convenience of his friends and followers, he ſailed for Europe on the 2d of September, and before he was

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two leagues at ſea, the maſt of the hired veſſel coming by the board, he ſent her back into the harbour to be repaired, while he himſelf proceeded on his voyage to Spain.

During the paſſage, he loſt his own main-maſt in a ſtorm, and this damage being in ſome meaſure repaired by the ſkill and activity of the lieutenant, (for the admiral was lame of the gout) they were afterward expoſed to another tempeſt, which carried away their foremaſt, and in that condition the ſhip arrived at the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda. Upon his landing, he was informed of the death of his generous patroneſs queen Iſabella, which overwhelmed him with concern; for though he was courteouſly received by Ferdinand, that prince began to think the advantages he had ſtipulated for himſelf were too conſiderable, and accordingly he propoſed new terms, which, however, did not take effect: for the negotiation was interrupted by the acceſſion of King Philip to the throne of Caſtile: and before Ferdinand returned to Valladolid, from whence he had ſet out to meet his ſon-in-law, Columbus, oppreſſed with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghoſt in that city. His body was afterward, by the king's order, conveyed to Sevil; where it was magnificently interred in the cathedral, and the place diſtinguiſhed by a monument, on which theſe words were inſcribed:

A Caſtilia, y a Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dio' Colon.

Which may be thus tranſlated.

To Caſtile and Leon,
A new World was given by Columbus.

DISCOVERIES of the SPANIARDS, From the Death of COLUMBUS, To the Expedition of HERNANDO CORTES.

AS the firſt diſcoveries in America were made and purſued by the Spaniards, their tranſactions there have alſo been more extraordinary in their nature than thoſe of any other nation; by their inſatiable rapacity after gold, and their inhuman meaſures to acquire it: haraſſing the natives, ravaging and butchering in the vileſt manner where-ever they came. What renders theſe tranſactions the more curious, is the circumſtance of their diſcovering and ſubduing two potent and civilized empires in theſe hitherto unknown regions; viz. Mexico and Peru. That we may preſerve a connection then in the detail, it will be proper briefly to trace the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new colonies from the death of Columbus, to the time of the expedition againſt the Mexicans.

Nicholas de Obando, who was governor of Hiſpaniola at the time when Columbus died, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by making draughts of the coaſts from a ſurvey which he had cauſed to be taken, and by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, who conſidered them merely as their vaſſals. Gold was almoſt their only purſuit, and ſuch quantities of that valuable metal were found, that there were annually melted in the iſland, more than the value of 150,000 l. ſterling; and yet this treaſure was far from enriching or ſatisfying thoſe who were employed in amaſſing it.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spaniſh gentleman, who had one of the provinces under his command, being informed by the Indians that St. John de Porto Rico was rich in gold, obtained a licence from Obando for planting a colony in it: and while he was thus employed,

ployed, Obando was recalled, and Don Diego Columbus came as his father's ſucceſſor, to take upon himſelf the government of Hiſpaniola. He brought with him from Spain a new governor for Porto Rico; but Ponce diſputing his authority, the young admiral ſet them both aſide, and appointed Michael Cerron governor, and Michael Diaz his lieutenant. However, after this Ponce, by the intereſt of his friend Obando, procured a commiſſion from Spain, and returning to Porto Rico, eaſily found pretences for ſeizing Cerron and Diaz, whom he ſent priſoners into Spain, and then proſecuted his deſign of conquering the iſland. But though he found this a more difficult taſk than he had imagined, the poor Indians, at laſt, notwithſtanding the kindneſs with which they had treated him, were entirely enſlaved, and at length extirpated. Soon after which Ponce de Leon was deprived of his poſt; for Cerron and Diaz, preſenting a petition to the court of Spain, and being ſtrongly ſupported by Columbus's intereſt, were ſent back in order to poſſeſs their former employments. Ponce being thus reduced to the ſtate of a private man, fitted out two ſhips for making new diſcoveries, and on the 2d of April 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in the latitude of 30° 8′, and believing it to be an iſland, named it Florida, from its beautiful appearance, and many pleaſant groves, or from his diſcovering it on Eaſter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Paſcha Florida, it being the fineſt ſeaſon for flowers.

The iſland of Porto Rico is 120 miles in length and 60 in breadth; its northern coaſt is in 18 degrees of latitude, and its ſouthern in 17°. The country conſiſts of a pleaſing variety of hills and valleys, woods and meadows, abounding in all the tropical fruits, and well watered with ſprings and rivers: but like other countries within the tropics, it has periodical rains and ſtorms, and ſometimes hurricanes between Midſummer and Michaelmas.

About this time Alonzo de Ojeda, who had ſerved under Chriſtopher Columbus, petitioning for a patent for making new ſettlements, obtained the promiſe of a grant of all that had been diſcovered on the continent: but Diego Nicueſſa, a man of greater wealth, interpoſing, ſtopped the grant, and obtained half of it for himſelf. The court allowed the former all the country between Cape de la Vela and the gulph of Darien, under the name of New Andaluſia; and the latter, the country from that gulph, to Cape Gracias a Dios, under the name of Caſtilla del Oro, or Golden Caſtile: without any mention being made in theſe grants of Diego Columbus, to whom theſe countries of right belonged, on account of their being diſcovered by his father.

Each of theſe adventurers fitted out two veſſels, with which they ſailed to St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola, where they quarrelled about their reſpective rights; but their diſputes being at length adjuſted, they left that iſland in the latter end of the year 1510. Ojeda took on board Francis Pizarro, who afterward conquered Peru, and in a few days arrived at Carmari, ſince called Carthagena, where the Indians were prepared to oppoſe him, on account of the injuries they had received from ſeveral Spaniſh adventurers; who, under the pretence of trading with them, had baſely ſeized, carried off, and enſlaved ſeveral of the natives.

Theſe people were of a large ſtature, the men wore their own hair down to their ears; that of the women was very long, and both ſexes were very expert at ſhooting with the bow. Ojeda immediately ſent them a few prieſts, with ſome of the Indians of Hiſpaniola who ſpoke their language; theſe meſſengers had orders to perſuade them to be peaceable, and ſubmit to the Spaniſh yoke, to leave off their idolatry, cruelty, and other vices; though Ojeda reſolved, in caſe they proved obſtinate, not only to make war upon them, but to make them ſlaves.

Ojeda began to barter with them for gold, with Spaniſh toys; but finding they were preparing to attack him, he fell upon them; made a great ſlaughter; took ſome priſoners, and found a ſmall quantity of gold in ſome of the towns of which he made himſelf maſter. He then marched four leagues within land, where, being divided into ſmall parties, they were every where cut off with flights of poiſoned arrows. Ojeda and another were the only perſons who eſcaped, all the reſt, amounting to ſeventy Spaniards, being ſlain.

Happily for Ojeda, Nicueſſa now appeared with his two veſſels on the coaſt, and was no ſooner informed of what had happened, than he ſent for his rival, and generouſly told him, that in this caſe they ought to forget their diſputes, and only to remember that they were Spaniards and gentlemen, and that he would therefore revenge his loſs. They accordingly united, and landed 400 men, marched againſt the Indians, burnt the town of Yarbaco, ſeized a vaſt number of priſoners, and as much gold as amounted to 7000 pieces of eight to each of the commanders.

After this victory they parted, in order to purſue their ſeparate plans. Ojeda fixed a ſettlement on the eaſtern promontory of the gulph of Darien, and gave the town the name of St. Sebaſtian; becauſe that ſaint being ſaid to be martyred by the poiſoned arrows of the infidels, he thought him a fit patron to defend him from the like weapons of the Indians. But finding that the natives were exaſperated at his making a ſettlement on the coaſt, he ſent captain Enciſo in one of the ſhips to Hiſpaniola, with orders to bring him as large a ſupply of men and proviſions as poſſible, and in the mean time drew intrenchments about the town, for his own ſecurity. However, as he ſoon wanted neceſſaries, he was obliged to make excurſions into the country, by which means many of his people were

killed by the poiſoned arrows of the natives; the colony was reduced to a moſt wretched condition; and notwithſtanding the arrival of conſiderable ſuccours and reinforcements, they were ſoon again reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs by war and famine. Hunger frequently forced them out, while the natives conſtantly drove them back with the loſs of ſome of their men: but from this terrible diſtreſs they were relieved by the dexterity and preſence of mind of a very extraordinary man brought by Enciſo.

Nunez or Nugnez de Balboa, a perſon of good family, great abilities, and a liberal education, had formerly ſailed along that coaſt with Baſtidas, and had afterward obtained a good ſettlement in Hiſpaniola; where having committed ſome irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In theſe unfortunate circumſtances he cauſed himſelf to be put on board Enciſo's ſhip in a bread caſk, and after having remained there ſome days, ventured at laſt to make his appearance, when the ſhip was an hundred leagues at ſea. The captain, who had been ordered not to carry any offenders out of the iſland, was extremely vexed at ſeeing him, and threatened to ſet him on ſhore in the firſt deſert place he came to; but the principal perſons on board interceding for him, Enciſo was at laſt pacified, and granted him his protection, which however did not efface, from Nunez's memory, the uſage he had received.

This perſon, obſerving that the company were in deſpair, and knew not how to act, endeavoured to encourage them, by maintaining that they were not in ſo deſperate a condition as they imagined; obſerving that when he was upon this coaſt before, with Baſtidas, they ſailed to the bottom of the gulph, where they ſaw a very large town, ſituated in a fruitful ſoil, and in a fine climate: that it was indeed inhabited by warlike Indians; but as they did

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not make uſe of poiſoned arrows, he adviſed them to get off their ſtranded brigantines, and endeavour to ſail thither.

This advice being approved, was immediately followed; and they ſailed to the river called by the Indians Darien, where having viewed the place, they found every thing according to his deſcription. The inhabitants and their cacique, being informed that the Spaniards were coming, ſecured their wives and children, and with 500 men waited for the invaders on a little hill: but the Spaniards fell upon them, ſoon put them to flight, and then proceeded to the town, which to their great joy was full of proviſions. The next day they marched up the country and the neighbouring mountains, and found many houſes; but no inhabitants, they being all fled. They however ſeized veſſels, houſhold goods, ſhort petticoats of cotton, great quantities of cotton, both ſpun and unſpun, and about 10,000 pieces of fine gold.

The ſucceſs of this enterprize gained Nunez much reputation, and he began to be in very high eſteem. It was now unanimouſly agreed to ſettle a colony there, and to call it *Santa Maria el Antiqua del Darien*, or St. Mary the Ancient of Darien. The firſt being the name of a church at Seville, and the latter the Indian name of the river.

Nunez now ſecretly contrived in concert with his friends, to depoſe Enciſo; who himſelf ſoon forwarded this ſcheme, by giving orders that no man ſhould trade with the Indians for gold, upon pain of death; which raiſing a ſuſpicion that he intended to monopolize the trade of that valuable metal, they threw off all ſubjection to him, alledging that his authority was expired, as they were out of the limits of Ojeda's government. They now choſe magiſtrates like thoſe in Spain; Nunez de Balboa and Zamadis were elected Alcaldes, and Valdivia was appointed Regidore; but ſoon diſliking this form

of government, new debates aroſe, which were terminated by the arrival of Roderic Henriquez de Colmenares with two ſhips, with proviſions, military ſtores, and 70 men on board.

This officer, who was carrying ſupplies to Nicueſſa, had put into a port at 50 or 60 leagues diſtance from this place, and ſending his men on ſhore to take in water, they were ſuddenly attacked by 70 Indians, who wounded 45 of his people with their poiſoned arrows, and ſtaved the boat. The Spaniards however ſwam to the ſhips, though all of them died of their wounds, except one. Seven of the Spaniards however hid themſelves in a great hollow tree, in order to ſwim to the ſhip at night; but thoſe on board ſuppoſing they had been ſlain, ſet ſail for the bay of Uraba, or Darien, in ſearch of Nicueſſa. Colmenares meeting no body on the eaſt ſide of the bay, where he expected to have found either Ojeda's or Nicueſſa's men, he was much ſurprized, and ſuſpected that they were all dead: he however cauſed ſome pieces of cannon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, which being obſerved by the ſettlement at Santa Maria, they made ſignals, upon which he came to them, as we have already related; and generouſly diſtributing his proviſions among them without diſtinction, brought them to agree to ſend for Nicueſſa, in order to make him their governor.

We ſhall now return to Diego Nicueſſa, who, after his leaving Alonzo de Ojeda, whom he had ſo generouſly aſſiſted, met with a violent tempeſt, when Lopez de Olano, his lieutenant, perceiving the ſhips ſeparated, formed the deſign of ſetting up for himſelf, and leaving his patron to ſhift as he could: but this failing, he ſailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to perſuade the people to abandon their original deſign, and to return to Hiſpaniola, alledging that Nicueſſa, and the men on board with him, had doubtleſs periſhed.

periſhed. Mean while a ſhallop entered the port with four men on board, who brought advice that Nicueſſa had been ſtranded upon the coaſt; and having marched a great way with incredible fatigue, was now on ſhore with his followers in a moſt miſerable condition. At hearing this news Olano's heart relented, and he immediately diſpatched the ſhallop with proviſions and refreſhments, which ſaved Nicueſſa and his men from periſhing with hunger: but this ſeaſonable relief did not in the leaſt ſoften that governor's reſentment againſt his lieutenant, whom he put in irons, and threatened to ſend him in that condition to Spain.

Nicueſſa now ſettled a colony on the banks of the river Belem or Bethlehem; but ſoon became in ſuch want of proviſions, that leaving only a part of his men there, he ſailed with the reſt to Porto Bello: when the Indians not ſuffering his people to land, he was obliged to ſteer two or three leagues farther to the port called by Columbus, the Baſtimentos; and as ſoon as he entered it cried out, *Paremus aqui en il nombre de Dios*; that is, Let us ſtay here in the name of God; whence the place was called *Nombre de Dios*. Then immediately landing, he began to erect a fortreſs.

Nicueſſa being ſoon reduced to the ſame ſituation as in the former colony, was obliged to ſend one of his veſſels to Hiſpaniola, to intreat Columbus to grant him aſſiſtance; but ſcarce was this veſſel ſailed, when that with Colmenares arrived with the above meſſage. This captain was ſo amazed at ſeeing Nicueſſa and his people lean, ragged and bare-footed, that he could not forbear ſhedding tears, eſpecially at hearing how many had died, and the great diſaſter they had ſuſtained; and therefore immediately endeavoured to comfort Nicueſſa, by telling him, that the people of Santa Maria deſired he would come and govern them; that they poſſeſſed a plea-

ſant and fertile country, had plenty of proviſions, and were in no want of gold.

Nicueſſa, now recovering his ſpirits, returned thanks to heaven for this unexpected news; but ſoon forgetting his own miſerable condition, and that theſe people had voluntarily made him an offer of becoming their governor and protector, he was ſo imprudent as publickly to declare, that he would take all their gold from them, and puniſh them for landing within the limits of his grant. Nor was this his only error; for being deſirous of viewing ſome iſlands that lay in the way, he ſuffered a caraval to ſail before him, in which were perſons who acquainted the colony with theſe ungenerous expreſſions; upon which they changed their reſolutions, and reſolved not to ſuffer him to come among them.

Nicueſſa having ſpent eight days among the iſlands, was greatly ſurprized on his anchoring at the landing place at Santa Maria, to find many of the Spaniards on the ſhore; and at his being ordered by one of them, in the name of all the reſt, to return to Nombre de Dios, he deſired they would hear him, and for that purpoſe the next day came on ſhore, when the people attempting to ſeize him, he eſcaped by night. Nicueſſa now intreated that in caſe they would not accept him for their governor, he might be at leaſt admitted as a companion; which they refuſing, he begged they would keep him as a priſoner, ſince he had rather die than go back to ſtarve at Nombre de Dios. But notwithſtanding this, they cruelly forced him and 17 of his men into an old rotten bark, with orders to return to the[illegible] from whence they came, on pain of being [illegible] where they were. There is no doubt of their having complied with this inhuman order, but they were never ſeen afterward.

After the departure of this unhappy man, Nunez Balboa diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a prudent gover[illegible]; he made great diſcoveries; was the firſt Euro-

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pean who ſaw the South Sea, and prepared the way for the conqueſt of Peru. As his hiſtory has therefore a cloſe connection with that conqueſt, we ſhall place it immediately before our account of that great event; and proceed now to thoſe events which prepared the way to the ſubjection of the Mexicans.

Though the governments beſtowed upon the above adventurers, were ſo many violations of the juſt rights of the admiral Don Diego Columbus, he was very much blamed for not endeavouring to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power: and his enemies made uſe of this complaint at the court of Spain, which always looked upon him with jealouſy; and therefore readily liſtened to any accuſation brought againſt him. Of this the admiral was ſo ſenſible, that he left no ſtone unturned to ſecure to himſelf theſe countries to which he had juſt pretenſions, from the contract made with his father.

Being informed at the beginning of the year 1511, that the court was very deſirous of having a colony planted in the great iſland of Cuba, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, and to ſend a body of men thither under the command of a perſon whom he could truſt: that having a lieutenant there of his own, the court might have no pretence for making a grant of it to any more adventurers, as they had done of that part of the continent diſcovered by his father, and even of the iſland of Jamaica; which however he had recovered. For this purpoſe he made choice of James Velaſquez, the wealthieſt and moſt eſteemed of all the firſt Spaniſh inhabitants in Hiſpaniola.

Before we proceed it may not be improper to obſerve, that the province of Guatiaba lying next to Cuba, and the diſtance between the two points being only 18 leagues; many of the Indians of Hiſpaniola had paſſed over in their canoes, and among them a cacique of the province of Guatiaba called Hatuey. He was a man of bravery and prudence, he took as many of his men as poſſible, and ſettled on the neareſt country

country called Mayci, where he treated the people as ſubjects, but not as ſlaves. This cacique, fearing that the Spaniards would one time or other paſs into Cuba, kept ſpies in order to know what was done in Hiſpaniola. Being at length informed of the admiral's deſign, he aſſembled the moſt warlike of his people, and putting them in mind of the many ſufferings they had endured under the Spaniards, told them that they committed theſe outrages for the ſake of a great lord of whom they were very fond, and whom he would ſhew them. Then taking ſome gold out of a little palm-tree baſket added, "This is the lord "whom they adore, him they follow, and as you "have already heard, are coming hither in ſearch "of him: let us therefore make a feſtival and dance "to him, that when they come he may order them "not to hurt us." They accordingly began to ſing and dance. At length Hatuey reminded them, that though they ſhould conceal this lord of the Chriſtians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out, and that they ſhould therefore caſt him into the midſt of the river, which was accordingly done.

The Spaniſh inhabitants of Hiſpaniola were no ſooner informed that Diego Velaſquez was going to plant a colony in Cuba, than many of them reſolved to accompany him, and about 300 men aſſembled in the town of Salvatierra de la Zavana, at the extremity of Hiſpaniola, in order to embark on board four ſhips. From thence they ſailed in November 1511, and landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the cacique Hatuey, who ſtood on his defence, taking advantage of the woods where the Spaniards could make no uſe of their horſes. After two months ſpent in this manner, the Indians concealed themſelves in the thickeſt parts of the foreſts; but whenever they appeared they were hunted like wild beaſts by the Spaniards, who carried all they took to Velaſquez, when that commander diſtributed them among his men. Hatuey withdrew into the moſt inac-

inacceſſible places; but at length had the misfortune to be taken and carried to Velaſquez, who had the cruelty to cauſe that unhappy cacique to be burnt alive: upon which all the province of Mayci ſubmitted; for after this inhuman example of ſeverity, none of the Indians dared to oppoſe him. Velaſquez now began to think of dividing the native Indians among the Spaniards, as Obando had done by thoſe in Hiſpaniola, and for that purpoſe he founded a town at an harbour in the north ſide of the iſland, at a place called by the natives Barracoa, and here the firſt colony in the iſland was ſettled.

On its being known in Jamaica that Velaſquez was in Cuba, many of thoſe who were with Juan de Eſquibel, Columbus's lieutenant, aſked leave to go over and ſerve under him; among whom was Pamphilio de Narvaez, a gentleman well born, who brought 30 archers under his command, and having a graceful perſon and an eaſy addreſs, was well received by Velaſquez: he ſent him with his 30 men to the province of Bayamo, a fine open country at fifty leagues diſtance. On the road he and his ſmall party were attacked in the night at an Indian town, by a conſiderable body of the natives; but mounting a mare which he had brought with him, they were ſo frighted at the ſight of that noble animal, and at hearing the bells which at that time were part of the trappings of the Spaniſh horſes, that they fled far into the country: and Velaſquez ſending a detachment to join Narvaez, he with the greateſt eaſe became abſolute maſter of that province.

The fine and extenſive iſland of Cuba, which is ſituated in between 20° and 23° north latitude, is upwards of 800 miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and generally about 70 broad. It lies about 50 miles weſt of Hiſpaniola, and 75 north of Jamaica. To the ſouth are a great number of ſmall iſlands, to which Chriſtopher Columbus gave the name of the Queen's garden, and to the north are a ſmaller num-

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ber which Velaſquez named the King's Garden. The whole iſland of Cuba is very pleaſant, and more temperate than Hiſpaniola. On the eaſtermoſt point there are mountains of a great height, which extend 90 miles, and through the middle runs a ridge of hills from eaſt to weſt, from whence very fine rivers and brooks flow down both to the north and the ſouth, through the plain champain countries which lie on the coaſt, till after a ſhort courſe they diſcharge themſelves on each ſide into the ſea. It has many fine harbours, particularly on the ſouthern coaſt, where there are that of St. Jago in the form of a croſs; that of Xaquas, to which the ſhips paſs through a narrow mouth not above a croſs-bow ſhot over, and then turn into the open part, which is about ten leagues in compaſs. Here there are three ſmall iſlands, ſo ſituated that ſhips may faſten to ſtakes fixed in the ground, under ſhelter of the mountains, and lie ſafe from the winds blowing from any part of the compaſs. On the north ſide are alſo ſeveral good harbours, the beſt of which is, that now called the Havanna.

When this iſland was firſt planted it was ſo covered with woods that a perſon might travel near 690 miles under trees of various ſorts, and particularly red cedars, out of the trunks of which the natives made canoes able to contain 50 or 60 perſons.

After the Spaniards had been ſettled there ſome time, they found conſiderable quantities of gold in the rivers, ſome of which was very pure. Though the original inhabitants were very numerous, they have been long ſince deſtroyed by the cruelty of the Spaniards. St. Jago in the ſouth part of the iſland is now eſteemed the capital; but the Havannah on the north-weſt, is by far the moſt conſiderable place, on account of its trade, and its being the annual rendezvous of the galleons on their return to Spain.

Velaſquez having reduced the beſt part of Cuba, and

and planted ſeveral Spaniſh colonies upon that iſland, began to be very deſirous of ſhaking off the authority of admiral Diego Columbus, under whom he had hitherto acted. That admiral being now recalled into Spain, oppoſed this project to the utmoſt of his power; but he had ſo little influence at that ungrateful court, that he was unable to carry his point: for though Velaſquez was ſtill left accountable to him for the exerciſe of his authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him without the conſent of the crown. This ſo well anſwered Velaſquez's purpoſe, that he reſolved immediately to execute a project he had long meditated of fitting out ſhips for making diſcoveries: and no ſooner were his intentions known, than numbers of the Spaniſh planters, who were grown rich, offered to contribute large ſums towards carrying it into execution; among whom was Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a perſon of great wealth and bravery, who offered to go as captain.

Cordova having fitted out two ſhips and a brigantine, took 110 ſoldiers on board, and ſailed from the Havanna on the 8th of February 1517. After being twenty days at ſea, during which they lay by in the night, they ſaw land, and from their ſhips obſerved a large town at about two leagues from the coaſt. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared; the Spaniards haled them; and thirty Indians went on board the commodore dreſſed in jackets without ſleeves, and with pieces of cloath wrapped about their waiſts. The Spaniards gave them meat, wine, and ſtrings of beads; after which the Indians retiring, made ſigns that they would return the next day with more canoes to carry the Spaniards on ſhore; ſeeming much to admire the ſhips, the men, their beards, cloaths, arms, and every thing they had never ſeen before.

The next day the Indians returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the cacique, who cried

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out *Conez cotoché*, or *Come to my houſe*, from whence that place received the name of Cape Cotoche. The Spaniards then entering their boats and the canoes, took their arms and went aſhore, where an infinite number of the natives waited to ſee them. Cordova even reſolved to attend the cacique to his houſe, in order to take a view of the country: but entering a wood, the cacique gave a ſignal, and inſtantly a multitude of men ſtarted from an ambuſcade in which they had been concealed. They were dreſſed in jackets of quilted cotton to ſecure them from being wounded by arrows, and had wooden ſwords edged with flint, ſpears, bows and arrows, ſlings, and targets: their faces were painted of ſeveral colours, and on their heads they wore plumes of feathers. Theſe giving a loud ſhout diſcharged a ſhower of ſtones and arrows, and then ruſhing on the Spaniards, fought with much reſolution, till being diſordered by the diſcharge of the muſkets and croſs bows, as well as by the ſharpneſs of the Spaniſh ſwords, they fled, after having 17 men killed, and many wounded. In this action were taken two youths who afterward became Chriſtians, and were called Julian and Melchior.

The Spaniards now returned to their ſhips and were pleaſed at their having found people in many reſpects different from thoſe they had hitherto ſeen, and particularly at their having obſerved houſes built with ſtone and lime, which were the firſt that had been obſerved in that part of the world. They now continued their courſe along the coaſt 15 days, and then entering a bay, landed in order to take in freſh water, of which they were in want. This place being by the Indians called Quimpeche, it from thence obtained the name of Campeche. They here filled their caſks with freſh water, and were going to return to the ſhips when

r were met by 50 Indians dreſſed like thoſe they
en before, who aſked them whether they came
the place where the ſun riſes: and conducted
to ſome temples built with ſtone, where the

Spa-

Spaniards obſerved ſeveral deformed idols, with blood freſh ſpilt. From one of theſe temples came two men in white mantles, with long black hair twiſted up in rolls behind, and holding in their hands little earthen fire-pans into which they caſt a certain gum, and then perfuming the Spaniards, ordered them to depart the country on pain of death: at which they retired in good order to the ſhore, and returned to their ſhips.

They now ſteered ſix days along the coaſt, and then landed at about a league's diſtance from a town called Potanchan, where they filled their caſks with water; and obſerved a body of armed men advancing toward them; but it growing dark, they returned back towards the town. The Spaniards now raſhly reſolved to ſtay on ſhore; but in the night were greatly alarmed by the noiſe made by the Indians, and at break of day perceived that the firſt party had been joined by ſeveral others, and that they were entirely ſurrounded by a great army. They however reſolved to make the beſt defence in their power, and were quickly under the neceſſity of exerting all their courage: for it no ſooner grew light than the Indians diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, darts, and ſtones, by which about 80 Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova. But at length after a vigorous defence, the Spaniards finding it impoſſible to vanquiſh ſuch numbers, made a furious onſet, and breaking through the Indians, ran towards their boats, while the Indians purſued them with hideous cries. The boats narrowly eſcaped being overſet by their crowding into them, and the natives were ſo eager to attack them, that they ran into the water to wound them with their ſpears. In this action 47 Spaniards were killed, five died on board the ſhip, and all the reſt, except one, were wounded. It was therefore reſolved to burn one of the ſhips for want of hands, and to return to Cuba.

One

One of their greateſt misfortunes was their having been obliged to leave their caſks on ſhore, which occaſioned their ſoon being in great diſtreſs for want of water; and ſome of the ſoundeſt of the men being landed with jars to ſearch for a freſh ſupply, could find none but what was brackiſh: this obliged them to ſteer for Florida, where one of the pilots had been with Ponce de Leon. They here landed near a creek, and having poſted centinels, dug pits; and finding good water, drank ſome, and waſhed linen for the wounded men: but when they were about to return, one of the centinels having ſtepped aſide with a hatchet to cut down a palmetto tree near the creek, the other heard him cry out, and inſtantly ran to give the alarm, crying, *To ſea! to ſea! the Indians are coming.* Many canoes were inſtantly ſeen rowing down the creek, filled with Indians cloathed in deer ſkins, and armed with bows and arrows, ſwords and ſpears, who landing let fly their arrows, and wounded ſix of the ſoldiers: but ſoon perceiving the dreadful effects produced by the muſkets and croſs-bows, they ran back to their canoes; on which the Spaniards returned with ſafety to their ſhip. The men were in ſuch diſtreſs for want of water, that a ſoldier leaping into the boat, ſeized a jar, and drank ſo much that he ſwelled and died two days after. In ſhort, after enduring many other hardſhips, they arrived at the Havannah, from whence Cordova ſent a particular account of his unfortunate voyage to the governor Diego Velaſquez, and died of his wounds ten days after.

Notwithſtanding Cordova's ill ſucceſs, his account of this voyage gave great pleaſure to Velaſquez, who frequently declared that he was reſolved to purſue theſe diſcoveries as ſoon as an opportunity offered: ſince as theſe Indians ſeemed more civilized than the others, they were probably richer. And his reſolution was no ſooner known, than ſeveral of the principal inhabitants offered him their aſſiſtance, which ſoon enabled him to ſend out three ſhips and a brigantine.

This

This ſmall ſquadron, which was commanded by John Grijalva and the Captains Alverado, Montejo and d'Avila, who had ſtrict orders to make what diſcoveries they could, but to attempt no ſettlements, ſailed from Cuba on the 8th of May, 1518, and having viſited Florida, and diſcovered the iſland of Cozumel, ſailed along the coaſt of the continent. Eight days after, they reached Potonchan's town, and came to an anchor; upon which the natives being elated with their ſucceſs in driving Cordova's men out of the country, took up arms, to hinder the Spaniards from landing: but being routed, the Spaniards marched to the town, where they found only three of the natives, who being well uſed, were ſent with ſome toys to allure the inhabitants back; but as they did not return, the Spaniards reimbarked and ſet ſail.

Grijalva now continuing his courſe by day, and lying by in the night, for fear of falling among flats and rocks, diſcovered the mouth of a large river; but ſo ſhallow it would only admit ſmall veſſels, and therefore they could only ſend up two, and their boats well manned; who were obliged to proceed with great circumſpection, on account of there being many armed Indians in canoes along the ſhore.

This river, which the natives called Tabaſco, the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, from their commander in chief, and landed at a grove of palm-trees about half a league from a town. The Indians ſeeing them leave their boats, about fifty canoes, full of armed men, moved forward, and ſtopped again at a ſmall diſtance from the Spaniards; upon which the latter ſent Melchior and Julian, the two Indians taken by Cordova, to inform them that they were come with no other view, but to treat with them about ſome affairs that would give them pleaſure. Upon this the Indians in four canoes drew near, and Grijalva ordered the above interpreters to tell them, that he and his men were the ſubjects of a great King to whom many princes paid obedience; that it was reaſonable

they alſo ſhould ſubmit to him, becauſe it would be much to their advantage; and that till the Spaniards could explain theſe affairs, they muſt furniſh them with proviſions. To this the Indians prudently replied, That they would give them proviſions; but that they had a lord of their own, and knew no reaſon why they, who were but ſtrangers, ſhould offer to impoſe a new lord upon them. However that they ought to take heed how they made war on them, as they had done on the people of Potonchan; for they had provided an army, which according to their manner of computation muſt amount to 24000 men. That they knew they had killed and wounded above 200 at Potonchan; but that they were not ſo weak as thoſe people. They concluded with obſerving, that they were come thither to know their will, and would make a very juſt report of what was ſaid to a number of very great men, who were aſſembled either to treat of peace, or to renew the war. Grijalva then gave them ſtrings of beads, looking-glaſſes, and other things, charging them to bring back an anſwer, becauſe if they did not, he muſt go to the town, though he ſhould not do it any harm. Having thus concluded the conference, he returned to the ſhips.

Theſe perſons having delivered the meſſage, all the chiefs, who were uſually conſulted in martial affairs, thought peace preferable to war, and immediately ſent a number of Indians loaded with roaſted fiſh, poultry, bread, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit. Theſe being delivered, they laid ſome mats on the ground, and placed upon them ſeveral ſorts of very beautiful feather works. After which they let the Spaniards know, that their lord would come the next day to pay them a viſit.

Accordingly at the time appointed the cacique appeared, attended by many unarmed men, and without ſhewing the leaſt jealouſy, went on board Grijalva's ſhip. That commander was a genteel man, of about 28 years, and had on a looſe coat of crimſon velvet, a

f the ſame, with other rich ornaments. He re-
d the cacique with reſpect, and ſitting down,
egan their diſcourſe, through the medium of in-
ters. After ſome time, the cacique ordered an
n to take out of a trunk he carried, ſome plates
ld, and thin boards covered with the ſame metal
mour. Theſe the cacique himſelf tried upon
lva, taking off thoſe that did not fit, and apply-
thers, till he had put him on a compleat ſuit of
armour that fitted him as well as if it had been
for him. He alſo preſented him various works
ld and feathers. In return Grijalva called for a
ine ſhirt, and with his own hands put it upon
acique, as he alſo did his great coat of crimſon
t. He then put on his feet a pair of new ſhoes;
ave him ſome of the beſt ſtrings of beads and
ng-glaſſes, with ſciſſars, knives, and ſeveral toys
of tin, ſome of which he alſo gave to all the ca-
's attendants. The cacique's preſent to Grijalva
orth about 3000 pieces of eight, and among the
were a wooden head-piece covered with thin
of gold, and three or four maſks, ſome of
were covered with a ſort of ſtones like eme-

The ſight of theſe things made the Spaniards
eager to ſettle in a country that produced ſuch
ealth.

ijalva having received this conſiderable preſent,
eing ſenſible that the Indians were not willing
heir gueſts ſhould ſtay long, proceeded farther,
n two days came to a town called Agualunco,
the Spaniards named Le-Rambla, where the
itants appeared at a diſtance, with targets of tor-
hell, which glittering in the ſun, made ſome of
paniards fancy they were of gold.

iling from hence, the Spaniards ſaw ſeveral other
, in one of which they obſerved the Indians
ng large pieces of white cloth faſtened to poles,
inviting them to land; whereupon Grijalva or-
d Captain de Montejo to go on ſhore with all the

muſketeers, and twenty other ſoldiers, and that in caſe the Indians appeared in a warlike poſture, he ſhould give notice, in order that ſuccours might be ſent him.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that this coaſt was part of the great empire of Mexico, and that Motezuma, who was then ſeated on the throne, having heard of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the pains they took to become acquainted with the maritime parts of his empire, began to grow uneaſy, and longed to know why they took ſuch pains to learn the ſtate of countries that did not belong to them. To obtain this intelligence, he had given directions to the governors of ſome of theſe provinces to entertain theſe ſtrangers civilly, to ſeize every opportunity of trading with them, and to ſend him from time to time ſuch an account of their motions, as might enable him clearly to diſcern what opinion he ought to entertain of them, and in conſequence of theſe inſtructions the Indians made ſignals to invite them on ſhore.

As ſoon, therefore, as Montejo and his men were landed, the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread, and fruit, and perfumed the Spaniards by burning gum copal in little fire-pans. Montejo inſtantly ſent advice to Grijalva of the friendly manner in which he was received, upon which that commander came up with the ſhips, landed, and gave the people ſome glaſs beads and necklaces. He was treated with great reſpect by the emperor of Mexico's governor, and his principal officers, who ordering the Indians to bring gold to barter, the Spaniards, during the ſix days they ſtaid there, purchaſed gold toys of ſeveral ſhapes, to the value of 15,000 pieces of eight.

At length Grijalva, having made preſents to the principal perſons, and taking poſſeſſion of the country for the king of Spain, in the name of Diego Velaſquez, embarked and touched at ſeveral iſlands, and having landed in one of them, with 30 ſoldiers, found a temple in which were ſeveral idols, and four men dreſſed

dreſſed in long black mantles and hoods, who were the prieſts of the temple, and had that very day ſacrificed two boys who were found ripped open, and their hearts taken out; a piece of cruelty which ſtruck even the Spaniards with horror. To this iſland, which was called Ulua, Grijalva gave the name of St. John Baptiſt, but it has ever ſince been called St. John de Ulua, to diſtinguiſh it from St. John de Porto Rico.

Grijalva having ſtaid ſeven days at this iſland, during which he bartered for a ſmall quantity of gold, he ſent Velaſquez an account of his diſcoveries by Alverado, with all the gold and other things they had obtained from the Indians. Velaſquez was greatly pleaſed with the account he received; but Alverado having been very deſirous of ſettling a colony, gave him very ill impreſſions of Grijalva, who had ſerved him faithfully, and paid the ſtricteſt regards to his orders.

In the mean time Grijalva, by the advice of the other captains and pilots, coaſted along in ſight of the mountains of Tuſpa, and afterwards ſailed to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the name of St. Anthony, and there careened one of the ſhips that was leaky. While they were here many Indians came from a town at a league's diſtance, with bread, poultry, and other proviſions, which they ſold for Spaniſh toys: and the news of this traffic being ſoon ſpread abroad, others came from Guazacoalla, and the reſt of the neighbouring towns, bringing proviſions, and very bright copper-axes with painted handles; the Spaniards thinking theſe axes were gold, purchaſed 600 of them, and the Indians would willingly have parted with more.

While the Spaniards were here, a ſoldier entered a temple that ſtood in the fields, whence he took the incenſe called by the Indians Copal, the ſacrificing knives, and ſome idols, which he delivered to the commander in chief, after his having firſt taken off

... plates, and crowns of gold, ... eight; but not being able ... by it obtaining this booty, Grijalva ... what he had done, and ordered ... to be taken from him; but afterwards re... them to him again, upon his paying the fifth to ...

... this place Grijalva set sail for Cuba, and in ... arrived at the port of Matancas in that island, ... the value of 4000 pieces of eight in gold, be... what had been brought by Alverado. In this ... Grijalva received a letter from the Governor, or... him to hasten to the port of St. Jago, and to ... the men that another fleet was fitting out, in ... to make a settlement. Grijalva obeyed this ... ons; but on his arrival at St. Jago, met with a ... cold reception from Velasquez, who gave the ... command of the fleet to Hernando Cortes, which ... us to his celebrated expedition.

THE

THE Conqueſt of MEXICO, BY HERNANDO CORTES.

HErnando Cortes was born at Medelin, a town of Eſtremadura, in Spain; and being bred to a military life, he determined to puſh his fortune in the Weſt-Indies, whither he ſailed in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to his kinſman Don Nicholas de Obando, who was at that time governor of Hiſpaniola. This gentleman entertained him very kindly, but his favours could not divert his inclination to arms, and that iſland being now poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, without any oppoſition from the natives, he deſired leave to ſerve in the iſland of Cuba, where the war was ſtill carried on. Arriving there, he ſo far diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as to obtain the reputation of a valiant ſoldier and able commander; on which account he was made Alcalde, or chief magiſtrate of the town of St. Jago, a poſt generally conferred on thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in the conqueſt of thoſe countries. Cortes was in this ſituation when he was recommended to Diego de Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, as a proper perſon for making conqueſts on the continent; and the governor giving his approbation, a commiſſion was inſtantly ſigned, by which Cortes was appointed Captain-general of the

[illegible] of the countries he ſhould diſcover and ſubject to the Spaniſh dominion.

His nomination to this poſt was greatly reſented by [illegible] had flattered themſelves with the hopes of [illegible] it. Mean while Cortes employed his own [illegible], and all the money he could borrow, in the purchaſe of proviſions, arms, and ammunition, and [illegible] ſoldiers, with ſuch expedition and ſucceſs, that within a few days he had above 300 men in his ſervice, and having equipped ten ſmall veſſels from 50 to 100 tons each, they ſailed from the port of St. Jago de Cuba, on the 18th of November, 1518, and coaſting along the iſland, arrived at the port of La Trinidad, where he was joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who reſolved to follow his fortunes. But he had no ſooner left St. Jago, than his enemies prevailed on Velaſquez to revoke his commiſſion: of which Cortes being informed, he conſulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great warmth, that they would ſtand by him to the laſt extremity. He then took ſuch meaſures as appeared moſt proper for removing the jealouſy of Velaſquez, and promoting his own ſecurity; and having ſent Pedro de Alverado with a party of ſoldiers by land to take care of the horſes, and raiſe recruits in the ſettlements, he ſailed with the fleet for the Havannah. But in the night, the Capitana, in which Cortes embarked, ſeparated from the reſt, while the other veſſels continued their courſe to the port of Havannah, where the people were kindly received by Pedro de Barba, the governor under Velaſquez. However, having ſtaid ſeveral days, without hearing any news of Cortes, they concluded he was loſt, and began to deliberate about chuſing another commander, but were prevented by his arrival, when he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great reſpect by the governor.

During his ſtay in this place, he cauſed a number of jackets to be made, to defend his people from

from the darts and arrows of the Indians; they being found more ſecure than coats of mail. He proved his artillery, and exerciſed his ſoldiers. But while he was thus employed, a meſſenger arrived with diſpatches to the governor of Havannah, containing expreſs orders to diveſt Cortes of his command, and to ſend him priſoner with a ſtrong guard to St. Jago. Cortes was highly incenſed at Velaſquez's behaviour, and his endeavouring to ruin an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes: he therefore reſolved to provide for himſelf, and to make uſe of force if it was neceſſary; he even explained his ſituation to his ſoldiers, and they raiſed ſuch a tumult, that the governor of Havannah dreading the conſequence of their reſentment, publickly declared, that he did not intend to execute the orders he had received from Velaſquez, which he conſidered as a flagrant act of injuſtice. This commotion being thus appeaſed, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, delivered inſtructions to his officers, and after a ſolemn maſs, at which all the ſoldiers aſſiſted, weighed and ſet ſail from Havannah on the 10th of February, 1519, with a favourable gale: but the ſun was no ſooner ſet than a furious ſtorm aroſe, which damaged the fleet. Cortes had before ſent Diego de Ordaz, whoſe fidelity he had ſuſpected, to Guanicanico, a ſettlement on the other ſide of Cape St. Antonio, and a little before the ſtorm, he ſent Pedro de Alverado in queſt of him, with orders to wait for the fleet at Cape St. Antonio; but Pedro perceiving that the tempeſt had driven him ſo far into the gulph as to render it difficult for him to weather Cape St. Antonio, ſteered away for the iſland of Cozumel, where upon his landing he found a ſmall town near the coaſt, which was abandoned by the Indians, who fled at his approach.

Alverado was a young man of an enterprizing genius, but of little experience, and imagining that while

while he waited for the fleet which was to caſt anchor at that iſland, nothing could ſo ill become a ſoldier as inaction, he ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner part of the iſland. However this expedition was ſo far from promoting the ſervice in which they were engaged, that it only ſerved to frighten the Indians, and to render it more difficult to obtain their friendſhip and aſſiſtance.

The next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having ſent another veſſel with directions to Ordaz, on a ſuppoſition that Alverado had been prevented by the ſtorm, and though he was glad to find that young captain ſafe at Cozumel, he publickly reprimanded him for his raſhneſs, and diſmiſſed three Indian priſoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be reſtored, and given them many preſents for their cacique, in token of peace and amity.

To prevent any new diſputes, Cortes drew down his forces to the ſea-ſide, and having encamped them there for three days, he thought fit to make a general review; when it appeared that his whole army amounted to 508 ſoldiers including their officers, 16 horſe, 2 chaplains, and 109 mariners, and mechanics. On this occaſion Cortes made them a ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to animate them with courage, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſented the neceſſity of a ſtrict obedience and unanimity.

He had ſcarcely ended his ſpeech, when a conſiderable number of unarmed Indians approached in ſeveral detached parties: upon which he drew up his men, and commanded them to remain under arms till their intention was known. The Indians no ſooner came in ſight, than they continued for ſome time without motion; but perceiving that no hoſtilities were offered, they at length boldly advanced, and mingling with the ſoldiers, preſented them with refreſhments, and continued to behave with great confidence and familiarity.

The

The principal cacique of the iſland came the next day with a numerous retinue to pay a viſit to Cortes, who received him with great courteſy; and while the converſation was carried on by means of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to pronounce the word Caſtilla, the meaning of which being demanded by Cortes, he was told that the Indian ſaid, the Spaniards reſembled ſome perſons in Yucatan, who came from a country called Caſtilla. Cortes immediately concluded that theſe were his countrymen, and reſolved to ſet them at liberty. Upon a more particular enquiry he found that they were in the power of ſome Indians of the higheſt rank, who reſided at Yucatan, and that the moſt certain method of procuring their liberty would be to offer a ranſom: for the cacique informed him, that ſhould he have recourſe to arms, it would expoſe them to the hazard of being maſſacred by their maſters. Cortes approved of this advice, and ordered Diego de Ordaz to ſail to the coaſt of Yucatan, with a letter to the priſoners and ſome trifles for their ranſom, and to ſtay eight days, in which time ſome Indians appointed by the cacique for that purpoſe, undertook to return with an anſwer. In the mean time Cortes marched with the troops in a body about the iſland, in order to view the country, and keep his men in action; and in this tour, he was accompanied by the cacique, and a great number of Indians.

At a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt ſtood the temple of an idol that was much revered by the Indians. It was a ſquare ſtone building, and no contemptible ſtructure. The idol, which was called Cozumel, whence the iſland received the ſame name, was in the figure of a man, and had a moſt horrible aſpect. Here a great concourſe of people were found liſtening to a prieſt who was diſtinguiſhed by a certain ornament or covering, which ſcarcely concealed his nakedneſs, and who ſeemed to preach with great emphaſis. Cortes, ſhocked at the abſurdity of ſuch worſhip, told the cacique,

cacique, that it was impoſſible for them to continue friends, if he did not renounce his idolatry, and that it was unworthy of a man of ſenſe to pay divine honours to a deformed image fitter to frighten children than to be reverenced by men of underſtanding. The cacique replied, that as to religion he left it wholly to the prieſts, who ſhould, if he pleaſed, diſcourſe with him upon that ſubject. This was readily accepted, and one of the prieſts being ſent for, no ſooner was informed of the affair in queſtion, than he began with the moſt hideous outcries to proteſt againſt thoſe who ſhould be ſo audacious as to diſturb the worſhip of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of Heaven againſt all who ſhould preſume to diſhonour this deity, or his habitation. But Cortes, without paying any regard to his menaces, immediately ordered all the idols to be broke to pieces, and moſt of their temples to be demoliſhed. The largeſt of them, however, he preſerved entire, and having cauſed a neat altar to be erected, had maſs ſaid in it by the chaplains and prieſts, and at his departure charged the cacique to take the ſtricteſt care that every thing was kept in good order, and that no inſult was offered to the image of the Bleſſed Virgin, or to two croſſes which he erected in that chapel, and this the Indian chief very readily promiſed.

When the eight days were expired, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without ſeeing any thing of the Caſtilians, for whom he was ſent; Cortes therefore ſet ſail with a fair wind; but was obliged to return the ſame day, on account of one of the ſhips having ſprung a leak.

While this ſhip was refitting, Cortes was told, that a canoe was ſtanding directly toward the iſland, when perceiving that ſhe was full of armed Indians, he ordered Andrea de Tapia to get as much as poſſible under the ſhelter of the land, and to endeavour to take the canoe. Soon after four men came out of it with a ſlight covering about their waiſts, and with bows

bows and arrows in their hands. Andrea de Tapia, as ſoon as the Indians were landed, advanced toward them ſword in hand, when three of them ſeemed afraid, the fourth bid them not fear, and addreſſing himſelf to the Spaniards, cried aloud in the Caſtillian tongue, *Gentlemen, I am a Chriſtian.* Tapia immediately embraced him with equal joy and ſurprize, and conducted him to Cortes, who received him with much affection. Cortes having aſked the name of the ſtranger, he replied that he was called Jerom de Aguilar, and was a native of Eija. Meat and drink were then ſet before him, and he was ordered to be cloathed.

The next day Cortes inquired how he fell into the hands of the Indians, when he replied, that being at Darien, he was ſent to Hiſpaniola for men and ammunition; but was caſt away near Jamaica, when he and 20 other perſons taking to the boat, after ſuffering great diſtreſſes, reached the ſhore of Yucatan, where they fell into the hands of a cacique who immediately ſacrificed ſix of them to his idols, and then ate them. That he and ſome others were ſhut up in a wooden cage, in order to ſerve for another feſtival; but breaking out, they fled over the mountains, till they came into the dominions of another prince, who was an enemy to him from whom they had fled. That ſoon after moſt of his companions died, and he fell into the hands of a maſter whom he ſerved for ſeveral years, and at length acquired ſuch a degree of favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his perſon, and honoured him with his confidence. The cacique, his maſter, dying, recommended him to his ſon, under whom he poſſeſſed the ſame office, and afterward being employed in the wars with the neighbouring caciques, obtained ſuch reputation, that he became the favourite both of the prince and people, and therefore on his receiving Cortes's letter, he eaſily obtained his liberty as a reward for his ſervices.

On the 4th of March 1519, the fleet ſet ſail from Cozumel, and reached the river of Grijalva, where the civil treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabaſco, and the gold brought from thence, were ſuch inducements to their landing, as were not to be reſiſted. Therefore leaving the largeſt veſſels at anchor, Cortes embarked all his ſoldiers on board the ſmaller, and in the boats, and was beginning to make the beſt of his way againſt the current, when he perceived both ſides of the river covered with canoes filled with Indians in arms, ſupported by a conſiderable force on ſhore. When gueſſing from the horrible out-cries, and geſticulations of the Indians, that they intended to oppoſe him, he ſent Aguilar to them in a canoe with offers of peace, which being rejected, he reſolved to puniſh them for daring to defend their country. But night approaching, he thought proper to wait till the next day.

At day-break, he drew up the veſſels in the figure of an half-moon, and advancing ſlowly to the Indians, ſent Aguilar a ſecond time, with propoſals of peace, to which they made no anſwer, but giving the ſignal for the attack, advanced with great ſwiftneſs by the favour of the current, till being near enough to uſe their arrows, they diſcharged ſuch a cloud of them, both from the canoes and barks on the river, that the Spaniards were much embarraſſed in their endeavours to cover themſelves. However, having received the firſt charge, they aſſaulted the Indians with ſuch vigour, that the canoes ſoon left the paſſage free. The veſſels then proceeded up the river without further oppoſition, and approaching the ſhore endeavoured to land; but the place being marſhy, and covered with brambles, the Spaniards were aſſaulted by a number of Indians who lay in ambuſh. However Cortes drew up his men, and ordered Alonzo Davila to advance with a hundred ſoldiers through the woods, and take poſſeſſion of the town of Tabaſco, which was not far from the place of action. Cortes

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then attacked that vaſt multitude, and notwithſtanding his being obliged to fight up to his knees in mud, he put the Indians to flight; when inſtantly diſcovering the march of Davila, they ran to defend the town.

Cortes followed them, and reached Tabaſco before the detachment he had ſent thither; and found it fortified with a wall formed of large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like paliſadoes, with ſpaces between for the convenience of ſhooting arrows. It was of a circular compaſs, and at the cloſing of the circle the extremity of one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding ſtreet, in which were two or three wooden caſtles which filled up the paſſage, and were built for placing centinels. This was then a ſufficient fortification againſt the inhabitants of the new world, who were happily ignorant of the methods of deſtruction practiſed by politer nations.

Cortes being joined by Davila, ſoon drove the enemy from their poſts, and then breaking down a part of the paliſadoes, entered without difficulty. The Indians however made head againſt the Spaniards in the ſtreets; but being again repulſed, fled in great diſorder to the woods, whither Cortes would not allow his men to purſue them.

The Indians had removed their families and effects, and provided for their ſupport by laying in a great ſtock of proviſions. Fourteen or fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded, but the loſs of the Indians was very conſiderable. The troops lodged that night in the town, in which centinels were poſted with as much care and exactneſs as if an army had been in view; but the next day the country appeared deſerted, and there was not an enemy to be ſeen. Cortes however ſuſpected this ſtillneſs, and his apprehenſions increaſed, by his being informed that Melchior his interpreter, one of the Indians taken by Cordova, had deſerted that very night, leaving his cloaths hanging on a tree.

Cortes

Cortes now ſent Pedro de Alverado and Franciſco de Lugo with 100 men each, by different ways, to view the country, with orders to retire in caſe they found an army in the field: but the latter, after a little more than an hour's march, fell into an ambuſcade, and would certainly have been overpowered, had not Alverado, who had been obliged to turn out of his way by meeting a marſh, heard the report of the fire-arms, and haſted to his relief, after his having firſt detached an Indian of Cuba to Cortes, to inform him of this event. Alverado attacked the Indians when Lugo was in the greateſt diſtreſs, who, though they gave way at firſt, yet rallied in great numbers; until at length Cortes appeared at a diſtance, and being obſerved by the Indians, they diſperſed, leaving the Spaniards in the poſſeſſion of the field, eleven of whom were wounded, of which number two died.

Some priſoners being taken on this occaſion, Cortes cauſed them to be examined ſeparately, by Jerom de Aguilar, when they agreed in declaring, that all the caciques in the neighbouring countries, were marching to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Tabaſco, and that the next day a powerful army was to be aſſembled in order to deſtroy the Spaniards at once. Upon this intelligence Cortes called a council, communicated to his captains what he had learned, and deſired their advice: repreſenting the weakneſs of their naked enemies, and the ill conſequences that would attend their turning their backs upon them. Upon which the officers unanimouſly agreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary not to leave the country, till the inhabitants were reduced.

Cortes now proceeded to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a deciſive battle: he ordered the wounded to be carried on board; the horſes to be landed; the artillery to be in readineſs; and every thing in order by the next morning. At day-break he gave the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, when

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he and the other commanders mounted on horſe-back, and kept pace with the artillery, which moved very ſlowly, from the ground's being boggy, till arriving at a place called Cinthla, about the diſtance of a league from their quarters, they obſerved the Indian army appear at a diſtance, and in ſuch numbers, as to cover the country as far as the eye could reach.

It is here proper to deſcribe the Indian manner of arming themſelves, and coming to an engagement; ſince, as the art of war is nearly the ſame in all parts of New Spain, this will be ſufficient to give the reader ſome idea of their appearance through the whole of this conqueſt. Their principal weapons were bows and arrows, the ſtrings of the bows being made of the ſinews of beaſts, or thongs of deer ſkins twiſted, and their arrows pointed with fiſh bones. They had a kind of javelins, which they ſometimes threw, and ſometimes managed like a pike. They had alſo long two-handed wooden ſwords, edged with ſharp flints; ſome of the ſtrongeſt had clubs pointed with flints, and there were ſlingers who threw ſtones with great force and dexterity. Their defenſive arms, which were worn by none but commanders and perſons of diſtinction, conſiſted of coats of quilted cotton, breaſt-plates, and ſhields of wood and tortoiſeſhell adorned with plates of metal. The reſt of the people were naked, only their heads were encircled with plumes of feathers; and all of them had their faces and bodies painted of various colours, in order to ſtrike terror into their enemies. Their warlike muſic were pipes made of large canes, ſea-ſhells, and drums made of the bark of a tree, hollowed, which being beaten with a ſtick afforded a very diſagreeable ſound: they made their attacks with terrible outcries, to intimidate their enemies, and were equally eager to charge or to run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians, which now poured down upon the Spaniards.

Cortes united his men under the ſhelter of a riſing ground that covered the rear, and having placed his artillery to the greateſt advantage, advanced with his fifteen horſe to a wood, from whence he intended to ſally, and flank the enemy.

When the Indians had marched within a proper diſtance, they diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, and then fell upon the Spaniards with ſuch fury and precipitation, that their fire-arms and croſs-bows being unable to ſtop them, they were obliged to have recourſe to their ſwords; and as the enemy preſſed on, the artillery deſtroyed them by whole companies. But the Indians fought with ſuch bravery, that the ball was no ſooner paſſed than they cloſed again, drowning the groans of the wounded by their outcries. Cortes, however, with his 15 horſe ruſhing ſuddenly from the wood, broke through the thickeſt of the enemy, while they being amazed and terrified at the ſight of thoſe unknown animals, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation. Diego de Ordaz being ſoon ſenſible that the relief he expected was arrived, from the weak reſiſtance of the enemy's van, advanced with his infantry, till he came to the place where Cortes and his captains had diſperſed the enemy, who retreated making a running fight, till the Spaniards purſuing them, they fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving above 800 dead upon the ſpot; the Spaniards had two men killed, and threeſcore and ten wounded.

The next day Cortes ordered two or three of the Indian officers who were priſoners to be brought before him, and perceiving that their countenances had all the marks of terror, he gave them a courteous reception, and then ſet them at liberty; giving them ſome trifling preſents, and telling them, he knew how to conquer and how to forgive. This inſtance of his moderation had ſuch an effect, that in a few hours ſeveral of the natives came loaded with Indian corn, fowls, and other proviſions, as a preſent

ſent from the principal cacique of Tabaſco, who by theſe perſons made propoſals of peace: but Jerom de Aguilar obſerving that theſe were mean people, Cortes, though very deſirous of peace, refuſed to admit their propoſals, and ſent them back without ſeeing them; ordering them, by his interpreter, to acquaint their cacique, that, if he deſired his friendſhip, he muſt ſend perſons of greater diſtinction to ſollicit it. The cacique, immediately ſenſible of his error, the next day ſent 30 of his principal men, adorned with plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another preſent of the ſame kind to the Spaniſh general.

Cortes was afterwards viſited by the cacique in perſon, attended by all his officers, who brought with them a preſent of cotton cloths, plumes of various colours, and ſome pieces of gold of admirable workmanſhip; and the viſit paſſed in proteſtations of reciprocal and ſincere friendſhip. The next day the cacique returned, with a preſent of twenty Indian women, who were ſkilled in making bread of Indian corn, and dreſſing other proviſions. Among theſe women was one of uncommon beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Marina, and became Cortes's miſtreſs.

The pilots now haſtened the departure of the fleet, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, Cortes appointed that day for their embarking. The Spaniards accordingly ſet ſail for Mexico, coaſting along to the weſtward, till they arrived at the port now called St. Juan de Ulua, where they had no ſooner come to an anchor, between the iſland and the main land, than two large canoes, called piraguas, came with Indians from the neighbouring coaſt, and on their drawing near, began to ſpeak in a language which Aguilar did not underſtand; a circumſtance which very much chagrined Cortes. Marina gueſſing his concern by his looks, told Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, that the people ſpoke the Mexican language, and deſired audience of the general on the

part of the governor of that province. This woman was the daughter of a cacique of one of the provinces ſubject to the emperor of Mexico, but in her youth had been carried to a Mexican garriſon, on the confines of Yucatan, after which, by ſome misfortune, ſhe became a ſlave to the cacique of Tabaſco, who made a preſent of her to Cortes. As this woman was not yet acquainted with the language of Spain, ſhe interpreted to Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, what the Mexican ſaid, and he imparted it to Cortes in the Caſtillian. By this double interpretation the general learned that Pilpatoe governor, and Teutile, captain-general of that province, had ſent to know with what intention he came upon their coaſt; when Cortes preſenting them with a few baubles, and treating them with ſome Spaniſh wine, told them, that he came as a friend to treat of matters of great importance to their prince and the whole empire, for which purpoſe he would meet the two governors.

The Spaniards landed on Good Friday, and having got their horſes and artillery on ſhore, Cortes directed the ſoldiers to cut faſcines, in order to intrench themſelves, and to build a ſufficient number of huts to ſhelter them from the exceſſive heat of the ſun. The people alſo brought plenty of proviſions, and ſome cotton cloth to cover the buildings erected for the officers: but notwithſtanding, Cortes kept himſelf upon his guard, and planted his artillery in ſuch a manner as to command the country. On Eaſterday he was viſited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very great retinue; he received them with extraordinary ſtate, ſurrounded by his officers and ſoldiers. The firſt compliments being paſſed, and it being the hour of divine ſervice, he conducted them to a large hut, and ordered Aguilar and Marina to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the deſign of his voyage, he ought to comply with the duties of his religion, and to recommend

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to the God of all other gods the ſucceſs of his propoſal. After ſervice was over, Cortes returned to his quarters, where the two generals were entertained at dinner, in as ſplendid a manner as poſſible; and that being ended, he called his interpreters, and with a determined air told them, that he came to treat with the emperor Motezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Auſtria, monarch of the eaſt, on affairs of great importance, both with reſpect to himſelf and all his ſubjects; for this reaſon it was neceſſary for him to appear before his royal preſence, to which he hoped to be admitted, with all the reſpect due to the greatneſs of the king his maſter.

Cortes's gueſts appeared alarmed at this declaration, and before they returned an anſwer, ordered their attendants to bring in the preſent they had brought with them. Upon which 20 or 30 perſons entered loaded with proviſions, fine cloth, feathers of various colours, and a large box, in which were ſeveral pieces of gold curiouſly wrought. Then turning to Cortes, Teutile deſired him to accept that preſent from two of Motezuma's ſlaves, who had orders to entertain ſuch ſtrangers as landed upon his coaſt: but begged he would not think of proſecuting his deſign, it being no eaſy matter to ſpeak with their prince. To this Cortes replied, with ſome warmth, that kings never refuſed to hear the ambaſſadors of other princes, and that their buſineſs was to acquaint Motezuma with his arrival, and that he was reſolved to ſee him before he left the country.

During this conference, ſome Mexican painters who came in the general's train, were buſily employed in drawing upon cotton cloths the ſhips, ſoldiers, arms, artillery, horſes, and every thing elſe that appeared remarkable, which they introduced into different landſkips that were no way contemptible, either for the drawing or colouring. Theſe pictures were deſigned by Teutile, to give Motezuma

ſome idea, of what appeared too extraordinary to be fully deſcribed by words; but here and there were placed ſome characters, which ſeemed to explain the picture.

Cortes being informed of what theſe painters were doing, went out to ſee them, when obſerving that theſe figures wanted action to expreſs the valour of his troops, he ordered them to arms, drew them up in a body, and commanding the artillery to be made ready, then telling Teutile and Pilpatoe, that he would entertain them after the manner of his country, he mounted his horſe, with his captains, who marched two and two, to the amazement of the Indians, who ſeeing ſuch ſtately animals ſo obedient to their riders, imagined that there was ſomething ſupernatural in thoſe who could manage them with ſuch eaſe and dexterity. Cortes then divided his troops into two bodies, gave a mock fight, and at a ſignal given they diſcharged their muſkets, and ſoon after the artillery; when the confuſion and aſtoniſhment of theſe people were ſo great, that ſome fell down upon the ground, others began to fly, and thoſe who had moſt preſence of mind were fixed to the ſpot with terror and admiration.

Cortes now endeavoured to diſſipate their apprehenſions by aſſuring them, that theſe were only military diverſions. The painters immediately began to repreſent the Spaniards armed and drawn up in ranks; the horſes in the attitudes of their exerciſes, and the artillery with fire and ſmoke. Mean while Cortes returned to his houſe with the two generals, and after having made them a preſent, prepared one for Motezuma, conſiſting of ſeveral poliſhed looking glaſſes, a holland ſhirt, a cap of crimſon velvet adorned with a gold medal, and a tapeſtry chair.

Teutile and Pilpatoe at length ſeeming much pleaſed with their entertainment, took their leave; but retiring only to a ſmall diſtance, held a conſultation, in which it was agreed that the latter ſhould

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remain on that ſpot to obſerve the motions of the Spaniards. Pilpatoe's attendants immediately began to build houſes, and a conſiderable village was formed in a few hours: but leſt Cortes ſhould be offended at this ſtep, he ſent to inform him that he ſtaid there, in order to be at hand to provide for his entertainment, and to ſupply his troops with proviſions. Though Cortes gueſſed his real intention, he took no notice of his ſuſpicions, and Pilpatoe continued to ſupply him with proviſions in great plenty. Mean while Teutile diſpatched meſſengers to Motezuma with an account of what had happened, with the pictures drawn by his order, and Cortes's preſent.

Motezuma was provided with a great number of couriers, choſen from the ſwifteſt of the Indians, who were diſtributed along all the principal roads of the kingdom, and rewards were paid out of the public treaſury to thoſe who firſt arrived at the appointed places. Theſe couriers were relieved at every town, which occaſioned all diſpatches to be carried with ſurpriſing expedition, and an anſwer was returned from Mexico within ſeven days, though the diſtance from that city to Juan de Ulua amounts to 60 leagues. Motezuma's meſſage to Cortes was brought by Teutile with that prince's preſent, which was carried by 100 Indians, and conſiſted of very fine cotton robes, and many curioſities formed of feathers, where the beautiful variety of the colours was ſo mixed and diſpoſed by the ſkill of the artiſt, that without making uſe of artificial colours, or of the pencil, they formed curious pictures, and a very fine imitation of natural objects. They alſo brought a great number of bows, arrows, and targets made of the fineſt wood; two large circular plates, the one of gold, repreſenting the ſun; and the other of ſilver, with the figure of the moon; and a conſiderable quantity of precious ſtones, pieces of gold, gold collars, rings, pendants, and other

ornaments of the ſame metal in the ſhape of birds and beaſts, ſo curiouſly wrought, that the workmanſhip ſeemed to exceed the value of the metal. Theſe ſeveral articles being placed in order upon mats made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile turned to Cortes, and told him by the interpreters, that the great Emperor Motezuma had ſent him theſe things in return for his preſent, and to ſhew how much he valued the friendſhip of the king his ſovereign; but it was neither convenient nor poſſible at that time to admit him to his court. Cortes returned thanks for the preſent, and anſwered that it was far from his deſign to be wanting in obedience to Motezuma; but that he could not diſhonour a king that was reſpected amongſt the greateſt princes in the world, by returning without fulfilling his orders.

Motezuma was at firſt incenſed at Cortes's perſeverance in his demand, and in the firſt tranſports of his reſentment, propoſed inſtantly to deſtroy thoſe inſolent ſtrangers, who preſumed to diſpute his will; but his rage no ſooner ſubſided, than it was ſucceeded by ſorrow and conſternation. He had private councils with his miniſters, public ſacrifices were offered in the temples, and ſuch marks of diſturbance and confuſion were viſible in his whole behaviour, that the people began to talk without reſerve of ſome ſigns and preſages, that were ſuppoſed to be indications of the approaching ruin of the empire.

The empire of Mexico was then in its greateſt glory, having under its dominion a prodigious extent of country, governed either by Motezuma in perſon, or by many petty kings or caciques, who were his tributaries. It extended in length about 1500 miles, in ſome places it was 600 broad, and it was in general a populous, plentiful and rich country. This empire from a very ſmall beginning had riſen to this height of power and greatneſs in little more than 130 years, during which time the Mexi-

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cans ſubdued all the neighbouring ſtates. They were at firſt governed by a military chief; but in the progreſs of their conqueſts, they choſe a king, and gave the ſupreme dominion to him who had the greateſt reputation for valour, without paying any other regard for hereditary ſucceſſion, than that of preferring thoſe of the royal family, when they were not excelled by the merit of another competitor.

The emperor Motezuma, the ſecond of the name, and the eleventh ſovereign of Mexico, was of the royal blood. In his youth he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in war, and obtained the reputation of a brave general, which, together with his exerting the arts of popularity, had raiſed him to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. He had reigned fourteen years when Cortes arrived on his coaſt, and is repreſented by the Spaniſh writers, perhaps to palliate the cruelty of his conquerors, as one of the greateſt tyrants recorded in hiſtory. Juan Grijalva had landed in his dominions the year before, and it is ſaid that about that time there happened many prodigies which were ſuppoſed to preſage the ruin of his empire. Theſe ſigns and portents, ſome of which were perhaps invented by the diſaffected, made a very deep impreſſion on the mind of Motezuma, and diſturbed his counſellors to ſuch a degree, that when they received a ſecond meſſage from Cortes, they concluded themſelves to be utterly ruined. Motezuma at length reſolved to ſend another preſent to Cortes, with orders to leave the coaſt; and in caſe of his refuſal, to levy a powerful army, and to act againſt him with all his forces.

While Motezuma's court was employed in deliberations, Franciſco de Montejo, whom Cortes had ſent to examine the coaſt, returned from his cruiſe, having found at the diſtance of ſome leagues to the northward a town called Quiabiſlan, ſituated in a fertile and well cultivated ſoil, near a bay, where the ſhips might ride at anchor in ſafety, under the ſhelter of

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ſome high rocks. This place was about twelve leagues diſtant from St. Juan de Ulua, and Cortes was beginning to think of removing thither, when his reſolution was ſuſpended by the arrival of Teutile with the principal captains of his troops, who came burning incenſe to him in little perfuming pans, and after the ceremony of fumigation, produced Motezuma's ſecond preſent, which conſiſted of the ſame particulars as thoſe of which the firſt had been compoſed, though in a ſmaller quantity, together with three green ſtones reſembling emeralds to be preſented to the king of Spain, as jewels of ineſtimable value. Theſe were delivered with expreſs orders to Cortes and his followers to leave the country without delay; but the Spaniards ſtill inſiſting that they would ſee the monarch in perſon, Teutile ſtarted up with marks of anger and confuſion, and told Cortes that hitherto Motezuma had treated him as a gueſt, and it would be his own fault if he was uſed as an enemy. He then, without waiting for an anſwer, abruptly departed, and was followed by Pilpatoe and the reſt of his attendants.

Cortes immediately ordered the guards to be doubled, and the next day the Spaniards had the mortification to find that the Indians who inhabited Pilpatoe's cabbins were retired; and that there was not an Indian to be ſeen. The apprehenſion of their wanting neceſſaries, now raiſed a ſpirit of diſcontent among the ſoldiers, which was fomented by ſome of them who were the friends of Velaſquez. Cortes was well acquainted with theſe murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority were on his ſide, he appeared before the malecontents: Diego de Ordaz, in name of the reſt, remonſtrated with ſome warmth, that as his forces were very unequal to the deſign of ſubduing a mighty empire, it was high time to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced in ſuch a manner as would enable them to purſue this great deſign with ſome probability of ſucceſs.

Cortes,

Cortes, though highly provoked at this advice, which oppoſed all his ambitious views, replied with great compoſure, that he had no inclination to lay the leaſt reſtraint upon his ſoldiers, and ſince they were unwilling to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to Cuba. He ſoon after gave directions for their returning to that iſland, and ordered the captains to embark with their reſpective companies, that they might be ready to ſail the next morning: but this declaration was no ſooner made public, than his emiſſaries began to exclaim with great warmth, that Cortes had deceived them, by profeſſing that he was reſolved to make a ſettlement in that country, which notwithſtanding their unexpected ſucceſs, he was on the point of deſerting, and that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might, with ſuch as were willing to follow him: for they ſhould ſoon find another gentleman who would aſſume the command. This clamour was ſo artfully managed, that it brought over many of thoſe who had eſpouſed the contrary party, and increaſed to ſuch a degree, that ſome of Cortes's friends were obliged to interpoſe, in order to put a ſtop to the diſturbance they themſelves had raiſed. Cortes agreed to proceed with ſuch as were willing; and to cauſe a ſhip to be provided for carrying back thoſe who wanted courage to follow him and his friends. This reply was received with acclamations of joy, and had ſuch an effect, that thoſe who were diſſatisfied, carefully concealed their diſcontent.

The diſſenſion among his men was no ſooner quieted, than Cortes was viſited by five deputies from the cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province in the road to the place where he intended to remove his quarters; who came to offer him the friendſhip and alliance of their maſter. They differed in their habit from the Mexican chiefs, though like them; they had rings in their ears and lips, to which hung jewels. Cortes gave them a very civil reception, or-

dered them to be well treated, and was greatly pleaſed at hearing that the Zempoallans, though tributary to Motezuma, were diſſatisfied with his yoke, and repreſented him as a proud and cruel prince; whence he foreſaw, that he ſhould be able to engage theſe people to facilitate his future ſucceſs. He therefore diſmiſſed the deputies with preſents, and with orders to aſſure the cacique of his friendſhip, and of his paying him a viſit in his way to Quiabiſlan.

Cortes, in order to diveſt himſelf of his uneaſy dependence upon Velaſquez, and to remove his want of legal authority, laid, in concert with his friends, the plan of a corporation to be eſtabliſhed in ſome place on the continent, and ſeveral perſons were choſen to fill the offices of government. Theſe immediately appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers, and having taken the accuſtomed oaths, to act according to the rules of juſtice, and their duty to God and the king, began to exerciſe their functions. The next morning the council being aſſembled, under the pretence of conſulting the augmentation and preſervation of the ſettlement to be made, which was to have the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, Cortes deſired admittance, to propoſe an affair relating to the public welfare. He laid open the reaſons which induced him to diſapprove the commiſſion under which he had acted, then threw upon the table what he had received from Diego Velaſquez; kiſſed the truncheon; delivered it into the hands of the Alcalde, and then retired to his houſe, in the capacity of a private man. The council, according to a preconcerted agreement, unanimouſly admitted of his reſignation, and with the ſame unanimity voted that he ſhould be appointed general of the army, and that they would make out a new commiſſion in the king's name, to be in force till they could know his majeſty's pleaſure.

Cortes accepted of this poſt with great reſpect, and began to govern the troops with a kind of authority

thority that ſecured the obedience of the ſoldiers. The friends of Velaſquez, however, could not diſguiſe their vexation; but reſented this alteration in a very indiſcreet manner: they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council; loudly inveighed againſt the ambition of Cortes; and began to raiſe a diſſenſion, that ſeemed to threaten the ruin of the expedition. Upon this Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Eſcudero, and Juan Velaſquez de Leon to be ſeized, carried on board the fleet, and put in irons. No body was at firſt allowed to viſit them, but afterward their friends were admitted, and among the reſt ſome of his confidents, who found means to reduce them to reaſon. He then ſuffered himſelf to be pacified, and ſo effectually conciliated their affections, that they afterwards ſtood by him with unſhaken fidelity. Cortes, having re-eſtabliſhed his authority, now prepared for leaving this part of the country; and directing the ſhips to ſail for the bay of Quiabiſlan, reſolved to march thither by land. In a few hours he reached the river of Zempoalla, which being very deep, the troops croſſed it in canoes, and other veſſels belonging to ſome fiſhermen, which they found on the ſhore, the horſes being obliged to ſwim. The army ſoon after arrived at ſome houſes in the diſtrict of Zempoalla, which they found entirely abandoned: though the natives left in their temples ſeveral idols, with knives made of flint, and ſome miſerable remains of human victims. Here they firſt ſaw the Mexican books, three or four of which were in the temples, and were ſuppoſed to contain the rites of their religion. Each was made of thin varniſhed cloth, folded in leaves and made up into volumes, reſembling ours.

Next day the Spaniards continued their march; but ſaw not one perſon during the whole morning, till entering ſome very agreeable meadows they diſcovered twelve Indians, who were coming in ſearch of Cortes, with a preſent of fowls and bread from the cacique of Zempoalla, who invited him to his

town,

town, where he had provided quarters for his troops. Cortes diſmiſſed ſix of the Indians, with thanks for the hoſpitality of their prince, and detained the reſt as guides to the town, which they told him was at the diſtance of a day's journey.

Zempoalla was a large city that afforded a beautiful proſpect. It was ſituated between two rivers; the buildings were of ſtone, whitened on the outſide with a ſort of ſhining lime, which at a diſtance had ſuch a noble effect, that one of the ſcouts returned in haſte to Cortes, crying aloud that the walls were of ſilver. At their entering it, the ſquares and ſtreets were filled with a multitude of people drawn together by curioſity, and the cacique himſelf appeared at the gate of his palace, ſupported by ſome of his nobles, for he was ſo extremely fat, that he could not move without much difficulty. A mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels, was thrown over his naked body, and he wore pendants in his ears and lips. On his approaching to ſalute Cortes, his unwieldy appearance made it neceſſary for that general to put a ſtop to the laughter of his ſoldiers: he received Cortes in his arms, and welcomed both him and the reſt of the captains in ſuch ſenſible expreſſions as created reſpect, and having deſired Cortes to repoſe himſelf after his journey, told him that he would viſit him at his lodgings, where they would converſe more at leiſure about their mutual intereſts. The troops then retired to the quarters provided for them, accommodated with proviſions and other neceſſaries.

The cacique ſoon after ſent a preſent to Cortes of jewels, gold and other curioſities, and followed this preſent in perſon, carried on a chair on the ſhoulders of the chief of his family, and attended by a ſplen- retinue. Cortes went out to receive him, and ring to a private apartment with him and the in- preters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the king errors of idolatry; telling him coming with his valiant troops,

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was to redreſs wrongs, to puniſh violence, and to vindicate the cauſe of reaſon and juſtice. He artfully touched on this ſubject, in order to draw him to complain of Motezuma, that he might diſcover what advantages he might expect to reap from his reſentment againſt that prince; and, indeed, the words were no ſooner pronounced, than he began to utter his complaints, and to obſerve that the neighbouring caciques groaned under the tyranny of Motezuma; but concluded with obſerving, that he did not wiſh to engage Cortes in a quarrel with ſuch a potent emperor, whoſe power was irreſiſtible. Cortes immediately replied, that while he had juſtice on his ſide he ſhould pay but little regard to Motezuma's power. In ſhort, having continued the converſation for ſome time, the cacique took his leave, highly ſatisfied, while Cortes was equally pleaſed at the proſpect of ſtrengthening his intereſt by ſuch a powerful alliance.

When the troops were ready to march, they found 400 Indians provided to carry their baggage and proviſions, and to help to conduct the artillery. The country they now entered was fertile and pleaſant, a part of it was laid out in corn fields, and the reſt covered with trees. They ſtaid all night at a little village they found deſerted, and the next morning arrived at Quiabiſlan, a town ſtrongly ſituated upon a rock, with the avenues to it narrow and ſteep. But though this place was naturally ſtrong, they entered it without oppoſition, nor did they perceive any perſon, till coming to a ſquare in which the Indian temples were placed, fourteen or fifteen of the natives handſomely adorned with feathers, came out to meet them. Cortes encouraged them by his affability, and gave them ſome glaſs beads; when recovering their ſpirits, they informed him that the cacique had retired in order to avoid a war, as he neither choſe to deny them admittance, nor to truſt his perſon among armed troops that were entirely unknown to him, and that the inhabitants could

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not be prevented from following his example: but that as ſoon as they ſhould be ſenſible of the goodneſs of ſuch gueſts, they would return to their houſes, and eſteem it their happineſs to ſerve and obey them. Cortes gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip, and gave ſtrict orders to the ſoldiers, to behave with great civility to theſe Indians, who ſoon ſhewed the confidence they placed in the Spaniards; for ſome families returned that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants.

Some time after, the cacique himſelf returned, and was introduced by the cacique of Zempoalla, both of whom were carried on men's ſhoulders, and the latter made an handſome excuſe for his friend. The converſation turned upon the tyranny of Motezuma, whom they repreſented as a monſter, who not only impoveriſhed them by the tribute he demanded, but robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whoſe blood he ſtained the altars of his gods, after having ſacrificed their honour to more ſhameful purpo es.

In the midſt of their diſcourſe they were interrupted by the entrance of two or three Indians who ſeemed to be in a great fright, and whiſpering the caciques, put them in ſuch confuſion, that they changed colour, and haſtily retired. The cauſe of this diſorder was inſtantly known; for ſix commiſſaries from Motezuma were ſeen paſſing before the quarters of the Spaniards, richly adorned with feathers and pendants of gold, and attended by a number of officers and ſervants. Cortes went to the gate to ſee them, when they paſſed by without paying him the leaſt reſpect, and with ſuch a contemptuous look, that the ſoldiers would have immediately chaſtized them, had they not been reſtrained by their general, who contented himſelf with ſending Marina with a ſufficient guard, to know the cauſe of their coming. By this means he underſtood, that the commiſſaries, after having ſeated

themſelves in the town-houſe, ſummoned the caciques to appear before them; and having ſharply reprimanded them for preſuming to entertain the emperor's enemies, demanded, over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be ſacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for their crime. Cortes no ſooner received this intelligence, than he ordered ſome ſoldiers to bring the caciques without noiſe, and telling them, that he knew the inhuman purpoſe of the commiſſaries, which he would not ſuffer them to obey; he deſired them to aſſemble their people to ſeize the Mexicans, and to leave the reſt to his conduct.

The caciques at firſt refuſed to comply with this bold command, till Cortes repeating his order in a peremptory manner, they went and executed it; and having ſeized Motezuma's miniſters, put them in a kind of pillory in their priſons, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who demanded that they ſhould either die the death of traitors, or be inſtantly ſacrificed to their gods. Cortes however refuſed to grant this requeſt, and having ſecured them by a guard of Spaniſh ſoldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive ſome method of extricating himſelf from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Motezuma, and yet thought it neceſſary to ſupport the party he had already formed againſt that prince, in order to have their aſſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould happen to want it. In conſequence of theſe reflections, he, at midnight, ſent for two of the priſoners, whom he treated in a very obliging manner, told them they were at liberty, and as he had reſtored their freedom, they might aſſure their prince that he would ſpeedily endeavour to releaſe the reſt of their companions, and to make the caciques ſenſible of their fault. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal joy and aſtoniſhment, but durſt not ſet out on their journey, for fear of being killed or

taken by the way; the Spaniſh ſoldiers were therefore ordered to conduct them to the bay, and one of the ſhip's boats carried them beyond the diſtrict of Zempoalla.

The next morning the caciques came to Cortes, and expreſſing great concern at the eſcape of the priſoners, he received the news with the appearance of much ſurprize and vexation; but propoſed, in order to prevent any accident of the like kind for the future, to take care of the reſt himſelf, and immediately ordered them to be carried on board the fleet. Thus, by a duplicity of conduct, without loſing the confidence of the caciques, he conferred an obligation on Motezuma, the greatneſs of whoſe power made him unwilling to provoke his reſentment.

The moderation with which the Spaniards behaved towards their allies, was quickly made known to the neigbouring d ſtricts, and in a few days, Cortes was viſited by above thirty caciques of the mountains within ſight of Quiabiſlan; theſe ſwore to be faithful to the king of Spain, and offered to aſſiſt Cortes againſt Motezuma.

Cortes now reſolved to ſettle the corporation of Villa Rica de la Cruz, which had hitherto moved with the army; for which purpoſe he pitched upon a plain between Quiabiſlan and the ſea, where the ſoil was extremely fertile, well watered with rivers, and abounding with trees, that were commodiouſly ſituated for the cutting of timber for building. They began with laying the foundation of a church, and the Spaniards, being aſſiſted by their Indian friends, both that and the houſes were ſoon erected; for the officers, and even Cortes himſelf, ſet an example to the reſt, by performing the moſt difficult work: by this means the town was ſoon compleated, and encompaſſed with a mud wall, ſufficient to defend it againſt all the methods of attack uſed by the Indians.

In the mean time, Motezuma being informed that the cacique of Zempoalla, whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, had admitted the ſtrangers into his town; reſolved not only to chaſtize this rebellious tributary, but to march in perſon againſt the Spaniards. But his preparations for this enterprize were ſuſpended by the arrival of the two Indians, who had been releaſed by Cortes. Theſe gave an account of their impriſonment; of their owing their liberty to the captain of the ſtrangers; of his courteous treatment, and the meſſage he had ordered them to deliver: upon which Motezuma's anger was mitigated, and he reſolved to have again recourſe to negotiation.

The Mexican ambaſſadors arrived juſt as the new ſettlement and fortreſs of Vera Cruz was compleated. Theſe were two young men who were the emperor's nephews, attended by four ancient caciques, who were to ſerve as counſellors. They had a ſplendid retinue, and the preſent, which conſiſted of gold, feathers and cotton, was valued by the Spaniards at 2000 pieces of eight. They told Cortes that the emperor was determined to chaſtize the caciques, till the account he had received of his behaviour had induced him to ſuſpend his vengeance; that he however hoped he would ſoon quit that country, ſince the obſtacles which oppoſed his coming to court, were in their own nature unſurmountable.

Cortes, according to his uſual cuſtom, received the preſents made him by the emperor, with great reſpect, and ordering the four impriſoned officers to be brought aſhore, delivered them to the ambaſſadors; obſerving, that he was highly pleaſed at having ſuch an opportunity of ſhewing his regard to the emperor: that he thought the inſolence of the caciques in ſome meaſure excuſable; from the extravagant behaviour of the officers themſelves, who not ſatisfied with the uſual tribute, had the inhumanity to demand twenty Indians for their ſacrifices. That he thought himſelf obliged to the caciques

for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, and therefore could not help interceding with Motezuma on their behalf; eſpecially as they, together with the caciques of the mountains, were now in a peculiar manner under his protection: that he would communicate the particulars of his embaſſy when he ſhould appear in the emperor's preſence; and that no impediments or danger ſhould prevent his receiving that favour. With this reſolute anſwer, and ſome preſents to the ambaſſadors, and others for Motezuma, he diſmiſſed them, greatly diſſatisfied at his obſtinacy.

Not long after theſe tranſactions, the cacique of Zempoalla came to Vera Cruz, and told Cortes, that the time was now come for him to protect his country againſt the Mexicans, who had arrived at Zimpazingo, whence they made excurſions into his diſtrict, deſtroying the corn fields, and committing other acts of hoſtility. Cortes thought himſelf obliged to ſupport his new allies, and that it would not become him to ſuffer the inſolence of the Mexicans in a manner within his ſight. He therefore deſired the cacique to provide Indians to carry his baggage, and draw his artillery; which being done, he ſet out at the head of 400 Spaniards, leaving the reſt in the fortreſs of Vera Cruz. On his paſſing by Zempoalla, he was joined by 2000 armed Indians, aſſembled by the cacique, to ſerve under him in this expedition. The ſame night he quartered his troops three leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next day in the afternoon diſcovered the town, ſituated on the top of a ſmall hill among great rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered it difficult of acceſs.

The Spaniards with much fatigue paſſed over the rocks, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance; but juſt as they were preparing to attack the town, in ſeveral places at once, eight ancient prieſts appeared, clothed in black mantles that reached to

the ground, the upper part gathered about the neck, and a piece hanging looſe in the form of a hood: they had long hair which was clotted, and their hands and faces ſtained with the blood of human ſacrifices. Theſe men approached the general with marks of the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, and ſoon convinced him that he had been impoſed upon; ſince Motezuma's troops had retired ſome time before, and that this was only an artifice of his allies who were their inveterate enemies, in order to make him the inſtrument of their deſtruction. Cortes being provoked at the deceit, ordered the captains Olido and Alverado to march with their companies, and aſſemble the Indians, who had advanced before to get into the town. They were now buſy in plundering it, and making priſoners, and being brought into his preſence, loaded with booty, and followed by the miſerable inhabitants crying aloud for juſtice, he commanded them to deliver up the goods to the prieſts, that they might reſtore them to the proper owners. Then calling for the Zempoallan captains, told them with a threatening voice, that they had forfeited their lives by their preſumption, in engaging him, by deceit, to compaſs their revenge. Having reprimanded the Zempoallans, he ordered them to lodge without the town, while he himſelf entering it with the Spaniards, was received with the applauſes due to a deliverer, and viſited by the cacique, with others in that neighbourhood, who voluntary acknowledged themſelves ſubject to the king of Spain. He now formed a ſcheme for reconciling theſe Indians and the Zempoallans, which he had the happineſs to effect; and having made them friends, he returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his reputation and intereſt highly advanced by the iſſue of this expedition, which he had too credulouſly undertaken; and thus, like a conſummate politician, he made even his very errors contribute to his grand deſign.

On his return, he found the caciques of Zempoalla waiting for him at ſome diſtance from the town, with a large quantity of proviſions for the refreſhment of the army; when obſerving that chief appeared aſhamed of his conduct, he aſſured him that he had laid aſide his diſpleaſure, and they having entered the town together, the cacique made him a preſent of eight of the moſt beautiful virgins, who were of good families: they were adorned with gold necklaces and pendants, and attended by ſeveral women ſervants. Seven of theſe the cacique alloted for the captains, and the other being his own niece, he recommended as a wife to Cortes, in order that their friendſhip might be ſtrengthened by the ties of blood. The general returned him thanks, and let him know that it was unlawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman who was an idolater, and took this opportunity of declaring againſt their idolatry and ſuperſtition.

Soon after the Zempoallans aſſembled in one of their moſt ſolemn feſtivals, in order to offer human ſacrifices, which were performed with horrible ceremonies; when the wretched victims being cut to pieces were ſold to the people as ſacred food. Cortes being ſoon informed of this affair, was filled with indignation, and forgetting every other motive, ordered the cacique and principal Indians, who attended him, to be brought before him, and with them proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops. The prieſts being informed of his approach, immediately ran to the gate, and with loud and hideous outcries called the people to the defence of their gods. At which ſome armed Indians poſted themſelves in the avenues of the temples; when Cortes ſeeing the inhabitants aſſembling in great numbers, ordered Marina to tell them aloud, that the firſt arrow they ſhould let fly, he would order the throats of the cacique and all the principal Indians in his power to be cut, and then puniſh their preſumption with fire and ſword. The cacique trembled at this dreadful menace, and com-

commanding them to lay down their arms and retire, they obeyed with the utmoſt expedition. Cortes then began to declaim againſt the barbarity and abſurdity of their religion, and at length propoſed to the Indians, that they themſelves ſhould aſcend the ſteps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands: but proſtrating themſelves upon the ground, they declared with tears and the moſt dreadful lamentations, that they would ſuffer all the extremeſt tortures he could invent, rather than be guilty of committing ſuch an impious ſacrilege. Cortes giving the command to his ſoldiers, the idols were in an inſtant thrown down and broken to pieces; while the Indians ſtood motionleſs with horror, every moment expecting to ſee the immediate vengeance of heaven fall on theſe impious men: but at length perceiving that they remained unhurt, and that the gods were unable to defend themſelves, their horror ſubſided, and changed into ſuch contempt, that they themſelves joined with the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their idols; and the next day maſs was celebrated in that very temple.

The Spaniards now returned to Vera Cruz; and the ſame day they reached that new colony, a veſſel arrived from Cuba, commanded by Franciſco de Salcedo, which brought Captain Luis Martin, ten ſoldiers, and two horſes. By theſe gentlemen the general was informed, that Velaſquez had obtained the title of King's Lieutenant of the iſland of Cuba, with a commiſſion to trade and make ſettlements in the new diſcovered countries, and that he was reſolved to put a ſtop to Cortes's proceedings. Upon this information, the latter was determined to lay the affair before the king: at his deſire the council of Vera Cruz wrote a particular account of the expedition, and of Velaſquez's injurious behaviour towards him; beſeeching his majeſty, in conſideration of his great merit, to grant him the commiſſion of Captain-general, that he might exert himſelf in the

ſervice of his country, without having any dependance on the governor of Cuba. Theſe diſpatches were committed to Alonzo Hernandes Portocarrero and Franciſco Montejo: but Cortes thinking that the fifth part of the gold they had collected would be but a trifling preſent for the king, prevailed with the officers and ſoldiers to reſign their ſhares; accordingly the above officers embarked for Spain on the 16th of July 1519, and carried alſo a particular preſent from Hernando to his father Martin Cortes.

Theſe deputies had been but juſt ſent to Spain, when ſome of the friends of Velaſquez privately concerted the means of eſcaping to Cuba, in order to give intelligence to Velaſquez of theſe proceedings. For this purpoſe they had ſecured one of the veſſels; but in the very night when they were going to embark, one of the accomplices went to Cortes, and informed him of the whole ſcheme. He took his meaſures with ſuch ſucceſs, that he ſeized all the perſons concerned; who being brought to their trial, two of the ringleaders were condemned to be hanged, others to other puniſhments, and the reſt were pardoned.

Cortes being very much diſturbed at this conſpiracy, which might again break out ſo as to diſconcert his whole ſcheme, formed a reſolution, that at once evinced the greatneſs and intrepidity of his mind: this was to deſtroy the ſhips, that the ſoldiers being deprived of all means of eſcape, might act with greater ardour and unanimity, from their having no other choice but to conquer or die. Having communicated this important ſcheme to his confidents, they exerted themſelves amongſt the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that they themſelves went to perſuade him to agree to it. Orders were accordingly given for bringing on ſhore the iron work, anchors, ſails, and every thing that might be of uſe, and then to ſink them all, except the boats, which were reſerved for fiſhing.

But

But no ſooner had Cortes taken this extraordinary ſtep, than all the advantage of it ſeemed to be deſtroyed by an accident that could not poſſibly be foreſeen, and which it was therefore impoſſible for him to avoid. This was the arrival of a ſmall ſquadron upon the coaſt, of which he received advice by an expreſs from Juan de Eſcalante. He immediately went to Vera Cruz, and at his arrival perceived one of the veſſels at anchor at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore, where were landed three Spaniards, one of whom was a public notary. Cortes went to them with a ſmall party, when the notary delivered to him a writing, which contained in ſubſtance, that the governor of Jamaica laid claim to a part of that country, and therefore ſent to inform Cortes, that he was not to make a ſettlement there. Cortes declined taking the paper, and very mildly told him, that it would be better if Captain Pineda, who he underſtood was the commander of the ſquadron, would come on ſhore, in order that they might adjuſt the affair in an amicable manner. But finding that nobody came, he directed three of his men to put on the priſoners cloaths, and to go down to the ſea-ſide, where they were to make ſignals with their cloaks. In conſequence of this ſtratagem a boat came off from the ſhip with twelve men well armed, and four men landing, with an Indian, advanced toward them. By which ſtratagem he got theſe into his hands; but the boat's crew rowed back to the veſſel, which ſoon after weighed anchor and ſtood to ſea. Theſe men readily inliſted under him, and Cortes returned with a ſmall recruit of ſeven Spaniards, which was then eſteemed a very conſiderable reinforcement.

Having formed his little army, and appointed an advanced party to reconnoitre, Cortes began his march toward Mexico, on the 16th of Auguſt 1519, and in the way was kindly entertained at the towns belonging to the confederates, in each of which places he erected a croſs, and exhorted the people to forbear offering

offering human ſacrifices. They now entered upon the rough part of the mountains, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in cold and rainy weather, without any thing to ſhelter themſelves from the inclemency of the air.

They next entered into the large and populous province of Zocathlan, where in a valley at the foot of a mountain, was a city of the ſame name, in which the cacique reſided. Cortes ſent two Zempoallans to inform this prince of his arrival, who ſoon returned with a favourable anſwer. The cacique came out of the city with a great retinue, and received the general with a kind of forced civility. The Spaniards here found very incommodious quarters; Cortes, however, concealed his reſentment, in order to give that prince no opportunity of engaging him in hoſtilities that would inevitably obſtruct his march.

The next day the cacique viſited Cortes at his quarters, when the latter received him with great civility, and among other queſtions, aſked whether he was ſubject to the emperor of Mexico? when the other replied, Is there any man upon earth, who is not a ſlave to Motezuma? To which Cortes ſcornfully replied, That he himſelf, and thoſe who accompanied him, obeyed another king who had many ſubjects more powerful than Motezuma. But the cacique, without attending to theſe words, proceeded to diſplay the grandeur of his emperor; the provinces under his dominion, he ſaid, were innumerable, and obſerved that he had many lords who ſerved bare-foot in his palace, with their eyes fixed on the ground; adding, that he reſided in the largeſt, moſt beautiful, and ſtrongeſt city in the univerſe, founded in the midſt of lakes.

Cortes eaſily diſcovered the intent of this diſcourſe, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, to deter him from proceeding; but ſeeming not to penetrate into his deſign, he replied that he was already informed of Motezuma's grandeur, and that his em-

baſſy

baſſy being peaceable, his men were appointed rather to ſhew his authority, than as a martial guard; but yet the moſt inconſiderable Spaniard was able to overthrow a whole army of Indians. That he ſought for peace; but if he was compelled to engage in war, he would deſtroy his enemies with fire and ſword; for nature would aſſiſt him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning. This rodomontade had a ſurpriſing effect, and the cacique was ſo over-awed by it, that he entirely altered his conduct, and ſupplied the Spaniards with proviſions in great plenty, during the five days Cortes ſtaid there.

Cortes now proceeded on his march to the province of Tlaſcala, that bordered upon Zocathlan, and for ſeveral days nothing conſiderable happened: but afterward hearing that the whole country was in arms, he reſolved to halt at a ſmall town called Xacazingo, till he ſhould be better informed of their deſigns.

The province of Tlaſcala was about 50 leagues in circumference, and though the land was mountainous and uneven, it abounded with inhabitants. The capital was built upon different eminences. The people at firſt were governed by kings, till growing weary of their tyranny, they ſhook off the yoke, and formed themſelves into a regular commonwealth.

To this republic Cortes ſent four of the principal Zempoallans, who were fully inſtructed by Aguilar and Marina, how to addreſs the Senate, in demanding a paſſage for the Spaniards through their territories. They inſtantly put on the appearance of ambaſſadors, each wearing on his ſhoulder a wreathed cotton-tippet knotted at the ends; in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target, formed of tortoiſe-ſhell. Upon theſe occaſions, when the purport of the embaſſy was war, the feathers of the arrow were red; but when their errand was peace, they were white. By theſe ſymbols the ambaſſadors were known and reſpected

reſpected on the high roads; but if they turned aſide they forfeited their privileges.

Cortes's four envoys on their entering Tlaſcala, were conducted to a houſe ſet apart for the reception of ambaſſadors, and the next day brought into the ſenate. After a ſhort conference, the ſenators told the ambaſſadors, that they gratefully received the ſalutation of the confederates; but muſt deliberate upon the anſwer to be returned to the ſtrangers. The Indians then retired to their lodging, when Cortes's demand produced very obſtinate debates, ſome inſiſting upon repelling him by force of arms, and others propoſing a compliance with his requeſt. The chief of thoſe who eſpouſed pacific ſentiments was an old ſenator named Magiſcatzen, a perſon of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, that an invincible race of men would come from the eaſt, with ſuch dominion over the elements, that they ſhould form floating cities upon the ſeas, and uſe fire and air to ſubdue the earth. Theſe ſtrangers he alleged were certainly the people foretold; and, that as they only deſired a paſſage through their country, they could not refuſe it without being guilty of incivility to thoſe who had never injured them, nor without diſreſpect to their allies, by whom they were ſo warmly recommended.

Magiſcatzen's ſpeech was received with applauſe; but the favourable diſpoſitions he inſpired were intirely changed by the interpoſition of Xicotencal their general, a young man animated by ambition, who ridiculed the prophecy, and repreſented the Spaniards as common men, whoſe veſſels and arms were produced by human art, whoſe valour was not uncommon, and whoſe pride, cruelty, and avarice, were intolerable. He therefore earneſtly intreated that they would allow him to aſſemble the forces, and exterminate them at once, as the oppreſſors of their country and the enemies of their religion.

Theſe

Theſe arguments had great weight with a people ambitious of military glory: they therefore ordered their general to try his ſtrength with the Chriſtians, but detained the ambaſſadors.

Cortes having waited eight days for the return of his ambaſſadors, determined to continue his march towards the city of Tlaſcala, that in caſe they were reſolved on hoſtilities, he might attack them before they were joined by their allies; by which prudent reſolution he prevented their obtaining time to guard a ſtrong ſtone wall which was 20 feet thick, and 9 feet high, with a parapet upon the top: it reached croſs the valley, extending from one mountain to another, and had no other entrance but in the middle, where the two ends circularly croſſed each other for the ſpace of ten paces, and might have eaſily been defended againſt all invaders. The Spaniards having paſſed this wall without oppoſition, marched in good order with their artillery ready, and with advanced parties to prevent ſurprize. Theſe parties at length diſcovered 20 or 30 Indians at a conſiderable diſtance, who by their plumes appeared to be ſoldiers. The Indians took to their heels, till having joined the main body, which was at ſome diſtance, they faced about, and ſtood in a poſture of defence. At this inſtant the Spaniſh infantry came up, formed themſelves into a battalion, and with the firſt volley of the fire-arms threw the Indians into diſorder. Of this the Spaniards taking advantage fell upon them with ſuch reſolution, that in a ſhort time they quitted the field.

Proceeding on their march the next day, they were oppoſed by a larger body of the enemy, which advanced with great noiſe, and having diſcharged a flight of arrows and a large quantity of ſtones from their ſlings, retreated, making a kind of running fight; but Cortes imagining that this retreat was only a ſtratagem, followed in cloſe order, till having reached the top of a hill he diſcovered a plain, where

was

was an army of about 40,000 men, compoſed of various nations, diſtinguiſhed by the colours of their enſigns and plumes. The Spaniards boldly marched down the hill; formed on the even ground, and moved on to the attack, while the Indians ſtill retired, till finding them at a diſtance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, and ran furiouſly to occupy the ground on both ſides, and then cloſing in a circle, ſurrounded the Spaniards, who found it neceſſary to throw themſelves into an hollow ſquare, in order to ſuſtain the fury of the aſſailants. The air was ſoon darkened with the arrows, darts and ſtones, which fell upon the Spaniards, till the Indians obſerving the little effect of theſe miſſive weapons, boldly attacked them with their pikes and ſwords. But the artillery ſwept down whole companies; the ſmall arms killed them in heaps, and Cortes breaking in among them with his horſe, ſlew and trampled under foot all that came in his way. During the battle Pedro de Moron, who was mounted on horſeback, was ſurrounded and taken by the Indians after having received ſeveral wounds; but though he was ſoon releaſed by the reſt of the cavalry, his horſe was killed.

The Spaniards being greatly fatigued, began to be dubious of ſucceſs, when the cries of the enemy ſuddenly ceaſed, and this ſilence was followed by the noiſe of horns and drums ſounding a retreat. The enemy then moving off ſlowly, left the field to the Chriſtians: but notwithſtanding the loſs of moſt of their officers, they entered their quarters in triumph, with the horſe's head carried as a trophy before the general, who ſent it to Tlaſcala, where it was ſacrificed with extraordinary ſolemnity in one of the temples. Nine or ten of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, and many of the Zempoallans, who were fired by the example of the Spaniards, were wounded in this battle, which was no ſooner over, than Cortes obſerving a ſmall town on an eminence that commanded the country, marched

marched thither, and had the ſatisfaction of finding it well ſupplied with proviſions.

The ſentiments of the Tlaſcalans were ſtill divided; for while ſome cried out for peace, others were equally eager for continuing the war: Xicotencal demanded ſupplies to revenge the loſs they had ſuffered, and one of the confederates arriving at the ſame time with 10,000 men, this ſuccour encouraged them to proſecute the war with freſh vigour. In the mean time the four Zempoallan ambaſſadors returned by different ways to the Spaniards, and informed Cortes, that as ſoon as Xicotencal took the field, they were put in a priſon, and deſtined by the Tlaſcalans as ſacrifices to the God of war, but that they had happily found means to make their eſcape.

Though a profound ſtillneſs reigned throughout the country, Cortes was far from imagining that he was out of danger; he therefore reſolved to maintain his poſt; but foreſeeing that the Indians would interpret his inaction as proceeding from fear, he reſolved the next morning to reconnoitre the country, in order to gain intelligence; and therefore marched out with all his horſe and 200 foot, which equally conſiſted of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He advanced as far as ſome villages in the road to Tlaſcala, where he found great ſtore of proviſions, and made ſeveral priſoners, by whom he was informed that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, and employed in recruiting and augmenting his army.

The Zempoallans being now highly incenſed againſt the Tlaſcalans, Cortes permitted them to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword, and then returned to the camp, where he ſet at liberty all his priſoners, and among thoſe who had been taken the day before, he choſe two or three to carry a meſſage to Xicotencal, in which he expreſſed his concern for the loſs he had ſuſtained in the battle; and deſired that he would now conſent to an accommodation, otherwiſe he ſhould make the name of Tlaſcala a terror to its neigh-

neighbours. The priſoners at their departure promiſed to bring him an anſwer; and a few hours after they kept their word; but returned bloody and mangled by Xicotencal's order, for preſuming to deliver ſuch a meſſage: with an anſwer that Xicotencal would meet the Chriſtians as ſoon as the ſun aroſe, when he did not doubt but that he ſhould carry them alive to the altars of his gods; and that to ſhew how little he feared him, he gave him notice of his reſolution, that he might have time to prepare himſelf.

Cortes, though piqued at Xicotencal's inſolence, would not neglect his advice: but at day-break took poſſeſſion of a ſpot where he could receive the enemy with advantage. In a ſhort time the ſcouts returned with intelligence, that the enemy were upon their march, and ſoon after they appeared, when their number amounted to above 50,000 men, conſiſting of the whole ſtrength of the republic and its allies. They diſplayed a large golden eagle, which was the enſign of Tlaſcala, and was never brought into the field, but upon the greateſt undertakings, and at firſt ſeemed to advance with equal expedition and intrepidity. On their coming within cannon ſhot, the artillery filled them with ſuch terror that they halted for ſome time; but at length ruſhed forward in a throng till they were near enough to uſe their ſlings and arrows, when they were a ſecond time ſtopt by the diſcharge of the fire-arms and croſs-bows. But at length they burſt upon the Spaniards like a torrent, and broke their ranks by mere dint of weight and multitude: they, however, formed again; when on a ſudden a great diſturbance appeared among the enemy, whoſe troops moved to and fro, and turned their arms againſt each other, till at length they retired in a tumultuous manner.

The cauſe of this diſturbance and retreat was afterward found to be owing to the inſolence of Xicotencal in upbraiding one of the confederate caciques with

with cowardice, for not advancing when the reſt were engaged. The Indian chief who had 10,000 men under his command, returned an angry anſwer, which being followed by a challenge; the other caciques eſpouſed their friend's quarrel, and immediately retired. Upon which Xicotencal, finding himſelf abandoned by his allies, and having ſeen a great number of his people ſlain upon the ſpot, left the field.

It is ſaid that Cortes loſt only a ſingle ſoldier on this occaſion; however, ſeveral of the men were very much diſcouraged at their having been put into diſorder, and loudly declared, that they would not ſacrifice their lives to Cortes's obſtinacy, but return by themſelves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to follow the dictates of his ambition. This ſpirit of mutiny made it neceſſary for Cortes to aſſemble the ſoldiers, when he exerted his eloquence with ſuch ſucceſs, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow-ſoldiers, our general is in the right, we cannot "now retire without being inevitably loſt;" and this opinion was immediately aſſented to by the whole army.

Mean while the Tlaſcalans were ſo intimidated by the ill ſucceſs of the ſecond battle, that they cried aloud for peace with the ſtrangers, whom they eſteemed invincible. But the ſenate concluding they were magicians, reſolved to oppoſe inchantment againſt inchantment, and therefore conſulted their wizards, who now pretended to have diſcovered the cauſe of their defeat. They aſſerted that the Spaniards were the offspring of the Sun, whence they derived a ſuperior power from the warmth of his beams; but that when he diſappeared they remained weak and diſpirited. Hence they propoſed that they ſhould be attacked by night, and utterly deſtroyed before they could be reanimated by the beams of their father. This abſurd piece of intelligence the ſenate communicated to Xicotencal, with orders to execute it, and

he immediately began to prepare for taking his meaſures accordingly.

Mean while Cortes took particular care to preſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and with good reaſon; for on the night deſtined for the attack, the out-centinels diſcovered a body of the enemy marching toward the town with unuſual ſlowneſs and ſilence, when notice being given of their approach, the ſoldiers manned the works without noiſe or confuſion, and chearfully waited to give them a warm reception. Xicotencal had 10,000 men under his command, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three ſides at once, which they did with equal ſpeed and reſolution; but they met with ſuch a powerful and unexpected reſiſtance, that many were ſlain, and the reſt were the more terrified from their having been confident that they ſhould find the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Cortes no ſooner perceived them retiring from the wall, than he ſent out part of his infantry, and all his horſe, furniſhed with breaſt-plates full of bells, to charge the Indians, who were ſo terrified at the unuſual noiſe, that they fled in confuſion, leaving a conſiderable number of dead, and ſome wounded, whom they were in too great a hurry to carry off. This victory was obtained by the loſs of one man, who was a Zempoallan.

The news of this diſappointment ſoon reached Tlaſcala, when the inhabitants unanimouſly demanded peace, and juſtice againſt the magicians for having deceived them. The ſenate aſſembling, agreed to puniſh the impoſtors, two of whom were immediately ſacrificed to their gods, and to apply to the ſtrangers for forgiveneſs, now firmly believing that they were the celeſtial people mentioned in the prophecy. Mean while a meſſenger was ſent to inform Xicotencal of the ſenate's reſolution; but that general being exaſperated againſt the Spaniards, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, abſolutely refuſed to comply, and reſolved to make a ſecond aſſault by night: but in order

order to know the nature and ſtrength of their fortifications, he employed 40 ſoldiers to enter the Spaniſh quarters among the neighbouring peaſants, who reſorted thither to exchange proviſions for baubles. Theſe ſpies had ſpent the greateſt part of the morning among the Spaniards unſuſpected, till a Zempoallan, who had obſerved one of them narrowly examining the fortifications, communicated his ſuſpicion to Cortes, who inſtantly ordered him to be put to the torture, when he made a full confeſſion, in conſequence of which his comrades were apprehended, and the whole ſcheme diſcovered. The general then cauſed fifteen of the moſt obſtinate of theſe ſpies to be puniſhed, ſome by loſing a hand, and others their thumbs, and then diſmiſſed them to tell Xicotencal that he was prepared for his coming, and had ſent his ſpies alive that they might acquaint him with the ſituation of his works.

At this bloody ſpectacle the Indian army was ſtruck with horror and aſtoniſhment, and their meſſage made a deep impreſſion on the general's mind. He now began to think that the Spaniards could not have diſcovered his deſign without a ſupernatural information: but while he was reflecting on this ſubject, he was accoſted by ſeveral perſons, ſent by the ſenate to diveſt him of his command.

The Spaniards expected an attack all that night and the next day; but on the ſucceeding morning a deputation came from the ſenate and republic of Tlaſcala to treat of peace: they were allowed to enter; and being introduced to Cortes, they apologized for what was paſt, ſued for peace, and earneſtly entreated him to march to their city, where the Spaniards ſhould be ſerved and reſpected as the children of the Sun, and the brothers of the gods. Cortes treated them with an affected ſeverity, and told them, that, however, peace was agreeable to his inclinations, and he would endeavour to appeaſe the anger of his captains.

Motezuma was greatly alarmed at Cortes's ſucceſs againſt the Tlaſcalans, apprehending that ſhould they unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet inſtead of aſſembling an army in his own defence, he ſent another preſent to Cortes, by ambaſſadors who were ordered to divert him from his intended journey, to watch over his actions, and if poſſible to prevent a reconciliation between him and the Tlaſcalans. Five Mexicans of the firſt rank, who were charged with this embaſſy, arrived in the Spaniſh quarters, ſoon after the miniſters of the republic had departed, and were favourably received by Cortes, who accepted of the preſent; but would not diſpatch them immediately, as he was deſirous of having them ſee the Tlaſcalans humbled: and indeed they had no inclination to depart, till they had accompliſhed the real deſign of their embaſſy.

In the mean time the republic cauſed the neighbouring villages to furniſh the Spaniſh army with proviſions gratis; and in two days Cortes was viſited by Xicotencal at the head of 50 noblemen of his party, who attended him with the enſigns of peace. He was well made, above the middle ſtature, and had a countenance that commanded reſpect. He wore a white mantle adorned with jewels, and behaved before Cortes with the free air of a ſoldier. Cortes complained, in the hearing of the Mexican ambaſſadors, with ſome vehemence, of the unjuſt war they had carried on, but granted peace, and promiſed that no violence ſhould be committed by the ſoldiers. At Xicotencal's departure he gave him his hand, and told him that he would return the viſit after he had diſpatched Motezuma's ambaſſadors.

The Mexicans made a jeſt of the peace, and pretended that the Tlaſcalans only ſought to lull him into ſecurity, in order with the greater eaſe to deſtroy him and his ſoldiers. But finding that he was fixed in his reſolution to grant them a peace, they deſired him to delay

delay his march to Tlaſcala for ſix days, promiſing to ſend two of their number to Mexico, while the reſt would ſtay to expect his reſolution: and as Cortes did not think proper to break with Motezuma, he conſented to this requeſt.

Within the appointed time the ambaſſadors returned, accompanied by ſix perſons of high rank, with a ſplendid retinue, bearing another preſent of greater value than the former; declaring that Motezuma deſired to be the friend and confederate of the great ſovereign of the Spaniards, and would pay him an annual tribute, provided they would enter into no league with the Tlaſcalans, and lay aſide their deſign of coming to Mexico.

But Cortes being reſolved that theſe ambaſſadors ſhould be witneſs of the peace with Tlaſcala, poſtponed his anſwer, reſolving to detain them as long as he could, to give Motezuma the leſs time to prepare for hoſtilities. Theſe embaſſies ſo greatly alarmed the Tlaſcalans, that the government came to a reſolution to viſit Cortes in the form of a ſenate, in order to convince him of their ſincerity, and break off his negociation with the Mexicans. They accordingly arrived in ſolemn proceſſion, carried upon the ſhoulders of inferior officers, and followed by numerous attendants. Cortes received them with his uſual ſtate and civility; and after they were ſeated, was addreſſed by the father of Xicotencal, a blind old man of a venerable aſpect, who told him, that the ſenate of Tlaſcala were come to ſue for peace on his own terms; to diſſuade him from entering into a league with the tyrant Motezuma; and intreated him to honour their city with his preſence. Cortes aſſured him that he would march to Tlaſcala, whenever the people of the neighbouring villages were ready to conduct his baggage and artillery. The next morning 500 tamines, or carriers, appeared at his quarters, and having made the proper diſpoſitions, he immediately began his march.

The Spaniards were received by the ſenators and nobles, at a conſiderable diſtance from the town, who, having paid their reſpects to the general, turned about and marched before. The city reſounded with ſhouts, acclamations, and the diſagreeable noiſe of their horns, pipes, and drums.

As Cortes knew the warlike character of the people among whom he lived, he obſerved the utmoſt circumſpection; which greatly mortified the Tlaſcalans; and Magiſcatzin being ſent by the ſenate to complain of it to Cortes, he aſſured him, that he was well convinced of the ſincerity and good-will of the republic, and that his ſoldiers appearing in arms, was one of the effects of that diſcipline which had rendered the Spaniards invincible. With this reply the ſenate were ſatisfied, and the Spaniards received daily proofs of the fidelity and friendſhip of their new allies. Cortes's zeal made him reſolve to deſtroy all their idols; but it ſoon was moderated by the charity of father de Olmedo, who told him that perſecution but ill agreed with the doctrines of the goſpel, and that their converſion required time and gentle uſage. However he prevailed with the Tlaſcalans to deſiſt from human ſacrifices, and to ſet at liberty thoſe miſerable wretches who were fed in cages, in order to be the victims of their inhuman worſhip.

Peace being eſtabliſhed, and the ſenate of Tlaſcala having ſworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes diſmiſſed the Mexican ambaſſadors, whom he deſired to inform Motezuma of what had paſſed in their preſence.

While Cortes ſtill continued at Tlaſcala, receiving in the name of Charles V. from the different confederates of the republic, the inhabi- ned by a ſurprizing irruption of fire o of Popocatepec, an high mountain s diſtance from the city, which filled th terror and conſternation; for they ri- gined it to be a preſage of future mis- fortunes,

fortunes, and ſuppoſed that the ſparks of fire were the ſouls of tyrants ſent abroad by the offended deities to chaſtiſe the earth.

While Magiſcatzin and ſome of the principal noblemen were rehearſing theſe idle fancies to Cortes, Diego de Ordaz came to aſk leave to aſcend the mountain, in order to gratify his curioſity. The Indians, aſtoniſhed at his propoſal, endeavoured to perſuade him from engaging in ſuch a dangerous enterpriſe, and obſerved, that the boldeſt men of their nation had never ventured beyond ſome hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that dreadful roarings and tremblings forbad all approach to its ſummit. This account increaſed the eagerneſs of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes granted his requeſt, in order to afford the Tlaſcalans a freſh proof of the ſuperior courage of the Spaniards.

Ordaz therefore ſet out on this expedition attended by two ſoldiers, and ſome of the principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages. He found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all ſides with green trees, which extended a conſiderable way up the aſcent. The earth then grew barren by degrees. The Indians ſtopped at their hermitages, to which they never expected to ſee the Spaniards return; and Diego de Ordaz, with his companions, proceeded, climbing among the rocks, which were whitened by ſnow and the aſhes diſcharged from the Volcano; and at length reached a place at a ſmall diſtance from the ſummit, where they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard a dreadful roaring iſſue from the mouth of the Volcano, which with redoubled noiſe diſcharged a vaſt quantity of fire and ſmoke, that darted upward to a great height. The Spaniards were inſtantly covered with a ſhower of hot aſhes, which obliged them to ſeek for ſhelter in the hollow of a rock, where they were almoſt ſtifled. Diego de Ordaz, however, perceiving that the earthquake was paſſed, encouraged the ſoldiers, by his

example, to proſecute this diſcovery, till they came within ſight of the mouth of the volcano, which was about a quarter of a league in circumference; they obſerved at the bottom a large quantity of inflammable matter, which boiled up like ſome ſhining metal in fuſion. With this account they returned ſafe, to the aſtoniſhment of the Indians, whoſe eſteem for the Spaniards was increaſed by this adventure, which afterward proved of ſignal ſervice; for Ordaz found a large quantity of ſulphur in the mountain, of which Cortes made gunpowder, when it was much wanted by the army.

Cortes having continued twenty days at Tlaſcala, during which he was entertained with all poſſible marks of reſpect, declared his reſolution of proceeding for Cholula, in which he was oppoſed by the Tlaſcalans; who endeavoured to ſtrengthen ſome arguments that had been before urged by the Zempoallans, by declaring that Cholula was a ſacred place, in which were 400 temples, and ſuch malevolent gods, that they terrified the world with prodigies: that he ought not, therefore, to enter their territories, without an aſſurance of their being propitious. Juſt about this time new ambaſſadors arrived from Motezuma, bringing another preſent, and that prince's permiſſion for the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the reception of the army. The Tlaſcalans immediately concluded, that there was treachery in the caſe, and Magiſcatzin repeated his remonſtrances with ſuch marks of concern, that Cortes called a council in his preſence, in which it was agreed, that it was impoſſible to avoid the road propoſed by the emperor of Mexico, without diſcovering a ſuſpicion of his ſincerity: that whether this ſuſpicion was well or ill founded, it would not be proper to diſcloſe it, and that it would be equally dangerous to leave enemies behind them. Cortes on the day of his departure, drew up the Spaniards and the Zempoallan auxi-

liaries,

liaries, and was much ſurpriſed to find the whole force of the republic and her allies ready in the field, diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their feathers, and their different enſigns: but Cortes inſiſted upon taking only 6000 of the republic's troops, with which he began his march to Cholula. That city was about five leagues diſtant from Tlaſcala, and the ſame evening he halted near a river, within 3 miles of the place, which he was unwilling to enter by night. He was there viſited by deputies from the city of diſtinguiſhed rank, who brought a preſent of proviſions, and excuſing themſelves for not waiting upon him at Tlaſcala, on account of his being there in the midſt of their enemies; welcomed him and his people to their city. Though Cortes was far from being convinced of their ſincerity, he admitted of their excuſe, and the next morning proceeded toward Cholula, where he was met by the caciques and prieſts, attended by a multitude of unarmed people, who had the appearance of being filled with reverence and joy: but they no ſooner perceived the body of Tlaſcalans that marched in the rear, than a diſagreeable murmur was heard among the chiefs; upon which Marina was ordered to aſk the reaſon of it, when ſhe returned with an anſwer, that the Tlaſcalans being their enemies, could not enter the city in arms, wherefore they earneſtly intreated, that he would order them to return. Cortes was diſconcerted at this demand, he however deſired the Tlaſcalans to lie without the city, to which they agreed; and they took up their lodgings in a place from which they might eaſily come to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, in caſe of neceſſity. In ſhort, Cortes entered Cholula amidſt the acclamations of the people, and with all the marks of reſpect ſhewn to the Spaniards at their entrance into Tlaſcala.

The city of Cholula ſtood in an open and delightful plain, and was much frequented by ſtrangers, on account of its being a ſanctuary of the gods, and its carrying on a conſiderable trade. The ſtreets were

ſpacious, the buildings larger and more beautiful than thoſe of Tlaſcala. The quarters appointed for the Spaniards were three or four large edifices, contiguous to each other, and ſufficient to contain both the Spaniards and the Zempoallans. The Tlaſcalans choſe a place at a ſmall diſtance from the town, which they ſecured with ſome works, formed guards, and placed centinels, in imitatation of their European friends; from whom they had obtained ſome knowledge in the art of war.

In the firſt three or four days, there was the greateſt appearance of tranquillity and friendſhip, but after that time proviſions grew gradually ſcarce, and an entire ſtop was put to the entertainments of the caciques. The prieſts and Motezuma's ambaſſadors held private conferences, and the people began to look upon the Spaniards with an air of ſcorn and diſtaſte. This naturally awakened the jealouſy of the latter, and Cortes was endeavouring to penetrate into the intentions of the Cholulans, when the whole deſign was accidentally diſcovered. Marina had contracted a friendſhip with an old Indian woman of diſtinction; who coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with great earneſtneſs, that ſhe would immediately forſake thoſe abominable ſtrangers, and live with her. Marina perceiving that there was ſomething extraordinary in this requeſt, bemoaned her captivity, and acted her part ſo well, that the Cholulan believing her ſincere, told her, that there was no time to be loſt, for the Spaniards were devoted to deſtruction: that Motezuma had ſent 20,000 Mexicans to ſecure the ſucceſs of the deſign, of which 6000 choſen men had already entered the city in ſmall parties; that a great quantity of arms was diſtributed among the inhabitants, who had carried ſtones up to the tops of their houſes, and cut deep trenches acroſs the ſtreets, in which were fixed ſharp ſtakes, which were ſlightly covered over with earth, for the deſtruction of the horſes:

that the emperor of Mexico had reſolved to exterminate all the Chriſtians; but had given orders that ſome of them ſhould be taken alive, to ſatisfy his curioſity and zeal for religion; and that he had made the city of Cholula a preſent of a golden drum to excite their courage. Marina, on obtaining this intelligence, pretended that ſhe was ready to attend her deliverer, and would only go and fetch her jewels; but immediately haſted to Cortes, and told him the whole affair; upon which the Indian woman was ſeized, and by threats engaged to make a particular confeſſion of the whole: and, in ſhort, he obtained intelligence from ſeveral other perſons, which put the affair beyond all doubt.

Cortes ordering his captains to aſſemble, laid before them the whole conſpiracy, and propoſed a ſcheme for puniſhing the Cholulans, to which they unanimouſly conſented. Agreeably to this plan, he let the magiſtrates know that he ſhould depart the next day; and demanded proviſions for his march. The Tlaſcalans were then ordered to draw near the city at day-break, and to enter the town and join the Spaniards and Zempoallans at the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms. At night, having ſecured the quarters with guards and centinels, he ſent for Motezuma's ambaſſadors, and told them that he had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him by the caciques and citizens of Cholula, whom he was reſolved to puniſh: and that he was not ſo much provoked at their treacherous intentions toward him, as at their preſuming to lay their crime to the charge of the emperor.

Early in the morning came the carriers with ſome proviſions, though in a ſmall quantity, and afterwards a greater number of armed Indians than Cortes had demanded. Theſe he ſecured in ſeveral parts of his quarters, on pretence of forming his battalions. Then putting his men in order, and mounting his horſe, he ſent for the caciques, and when they

they appeared, told them in a loud and angry voice, That as he had diſcovered their conſpiracy, he would ſo ſeverely puniſh them, that they ſhould repent of their treachery. Scarce had he begun to ſpeak, when they haſted away with great expedition to join their own forces, inſulting him with threats and abuſe, which they uttered as they fled. Cortes then commanded his infantry to fall upon the ſoldiers, whom he had kept divided in the ſquares of his quarters, all of whom were ſoon deſtroyed, except a few who threw themſelves from the walls and eſcaped. In this ſcene of confuſion above ſix thouſand of the natives and Mexicans were ſlain. The Tlaſcalans having pillaged the town, Cortes aſſigned them lodgings without the city, and then retired to his own quarters; where ordering the principal perſons of the town, who had been taken priſoners, together with the prieſts and Indian woman, whom he had kept confined, to be brought before him, he expreſſed his concern at their having obliged him to inflict ſo ſevere a puniſhment upon the city, publiſhed a general pardon, and deſired the caciques to call back the fugitives. The ambaſſadors congratulated Cortes on his ſucceſs; and the citizens being encouraged by his offers of peace, returned to their houſes, and opened their ſhops: ſo that the tumult immediately ſubſided.

About this time ambaſſadors arrived from the emperor of Mexico, who had been informed of all that had paſſed at Cholula; and being willing to eſcape the ſuſpicion of having had any concern in the affair, not only thanked Cortes for chaſtizing thoſe traitors, but ſent him a preſent of great value: by which means he thought to lead the Spaniards into a blind ſecurity, that they might the eaſier fall into a ſnare he had prepared for them.

Cortes having ſtaid fourteen days at Cholula, proceeded toward Mexico; and the firſt night he lodged in a village, to which the chiefs of the neighbouring

ng towns repaired with preſents. From them Cortes heard the ſame complaints of Motezuma as in the more diſtant provinces; and was informed that the Mexicans had placed a conſiderable ambuſcade on the other ſide of a mountain he was to paſs the next day: that they had ſtopped up the high road, and opened another which ended in precipices, and that the Spaniſh army when perplexed with difficulties, was to be ſuddenly charged, where their horſes could be of no ſervice, and the foot have no room to form. Cortes, though highly incenſed at this piece of treachery, ſtifled his reſentment, and the next day proſecuted his march over a very craggy mountain, adjoining to the volcano, proceeding with great caution. When he had reached the top, he perceived the two roads which had been deſcribed to him; and turning with great compoſure to the Mexican ambaſſadors, he aſked the reaſon why one of them was blocked up with trees and ſtones, and the other but newly made? To which they anſwered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience; and the other ſtopped up, on account of its being more ſteep and difficult. Cortes reply'd, "You are "but little acquainted with the genius of our na- "tion; for we will march in this road for no other "reaſon than its difficulty." He then deſired his Indian friends to march before, and remove the obſtacles to his paſſage; which to the amazement of the ambaſſadors was ſoon done, for they never dreamt that he ſuſpected their deſign. The Indians in ambuſcade, obſerving that the Spaniards marched in the royal road, concluded that they were diſcovered, and began to retire in great diſorder; while Cortes deſcended, without oppoſition, into the plain, and paſſed the night in ſome houſes built for the reception of the Mexican merchants, who reſorted to the fairs of Cholula.

In the mean time Motezuma being diſpirited by theſe diſappointments, grew daily more and more devout;

devout; reſorted to the temples; increaſed the number of human ſacrifices; and at length aſſembling his magicians, ordered them upon pain of death to ſet out to meet the Spaniards, and either to ſtupify or overcome them by the force of their enchantments. In compliance with this command, a conſiderable number of necromancers ſet out; but having performed their incantations without ſucceſs, they returned to Motezuma, and told him, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom famine and plagues proceeded, had appeared to them in a garment girt with a robe of wicker, declaring that Motezuma's ruin was decreed, and the diſſolution of the empire at hand. The ſuperſtitious king was ſtruck dumb with this report; till at length recovering his ſpeech, he cried, "If our gods forſake us, let the ſtrangers come. It would be diſhonourable to turn our backs upon misfortunes:" and then after a ſhort pauſe, added, "I lament the old men, women and children, who cannot defend themſelves." From this moment he began to prepare for the entertainment of the Spaniards. All the diſcourſe of Mexico turned upon their aſtoniſhing actions, and the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold; and theſe topics of converſation produced a prepoſſeſſion which only could enable ſuch an handful of men to penetrate to the very court of ſuch a powerful prince.

Cortes purſued his march through a delightful country, adorned with groves and beautiful gardens, till he arrived at a village built on a creek of the great lake, where he choſe to take up his lodging. Thither the Mexicans reſorted with their arms and military ornaments, in ſuch numbers as raiſed Cortes's ſuſpicions: when in order to keep them at a proper diſtance he cauſed ſome fire-arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, at which they were ſo terrified, that they haſtily retired. However he was viſited in the morning by one of Motezuma's nephews,

phews, who was lord of Tezeuco; he was a young man, had an agreeable perſon, and was carried on the ſhoulders of ſome of his ſervants, in a chair adorned with a variety of feathers curiouſly diverſified. He no ſooner alighted, than his ſervants went before to ſweep the ground, and keep back the people on each ſide. Cortes going to the door of his apartment, received him with a low bow, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and then his lips with his right hand; which ſalutation being paſſed, he ſat down, and with an eaſy air welcomed him and all his captains: ſpoke of Motezuma's amicable diſpoſition, and mentioned the difficulties that oppoſed his going to Mexico, on account of that year's barrenneſs, by which the people were much diſtreſſed, ſo that ſtrangers could be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted neceſſaries. The emperor's nephew received a preſent of ſome falſe jewels, at which he ſhewed great ſigns of joy; and having accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, he proceeded to Mexico, to give an account of his embaſſy.

The city of Tezeuco was one of the largeſt in the empire, and in grandeur was but little inferior to Mexico itſelf. It extended along the banks of a ſpacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican cauſeway. The houſes were very beautiful, and the ſtreets regular; and what was ſtill more extraordinary, freſh water was brought in pipes to every houſe. Cortes purſued his march over the cauſeway, which was twenty feet broad, and compoſed of ſtone; and in the midway came to another town of about 2000 houſes called Quitlavaca, which was founded in the water, whence it afterward obtained the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice. Here the cacique, attended by a ſplendid retinue, came out to meet him, and preſſed him to honour his city by ſpending the night there. To which he thought proper to conſent; for he began to ſuſpect that the Mexi-

cans

cans might break the cauſeway, or obſtruct his march by taking away the bridges. From this place the Spaniards had a view of the greateſt part of the lake; which was beautified with towns, adorned with towers and pinnacles, gardens and cauſeways, that ſeemed to float upon the water. The battlements of the houſes were filled with people; multitudes of Indians approached in their canoes to behold the Spaniards: and the whole formed a proſpect that was at once new and extremely noble. In this city, they were entertained with a politeneſs that ſhewed its neighbourhood to the court.

About break of day the next morning, the Spaniards formed themſelves upon the cauſeway, which was there wide enough to allow eight horſes to march in front; and the whole army, which conſiſted of 450 Spaniards and 6000 Indian allies, proceeded on their march to Iztapalapa; a city built in a moſt delightful, and commodious ſituation, part of it upon the lake, and the other part on the ſhore. It conſiſted of 10,000 houſes of two or three ſtories high. The lord of this city, accompanied by the princes of two other towns bordering upon the lake, came out to meet Cortes with three ſeparate preſents of gold, fowls, fruit, and other proviſions. The Spaniards entered the city amidſt the loud acclamations of the people; lodgings were prepared for them in the prince's own palace, which was a large and well built edifice, with many apartments both above and below ſtairs, among which were ſeveral chambers with flat roofs of cedar, furniſhed with cotton hangings, curiouſly painted. Here were many conduits of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and a conſiderable number of large and well cultivated gardens, particularly one that was far more beautiful and ſpacious than the reſt, and belonged to the cacique.

In the morning the Spaniards left the city Iztapalapa, and beginning their march in their accuſtomed order,



The meeting of Motezuma and Cortes.

order, ſoon diſcovered the great city of Mexico, diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. On their having marched about half way, they were met by a body of about 4000 nobles and officers of the city, who came out to meet them; and who having paid their obedience, turned about and advanced before the troops. At a ſmall diſtance from Mexico, the cauſeway was croſſed by a bulwark of ſtone, where the entrance into the city was ſecured by gates, a draw-bridge, and a ſecond fortification. The nobles had no ſooner paſſed on the other ſide of the bridge, than they fell back on each ſide, and made a lane for the army to paſs through, when there appeared a ſpacious ſtreet, the houſes of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with ſpectators; though no body was ſeen paſſing through the ſtreets: for Motezuma had given orders for their being cleared, as he had himſelf reſolved to ſhew Cortes an extraordinary mark of favour by his coming out to meet him.

Scarce had the Spaniards entered the city, when they perceived the firſt troop of the royal retinue, which conſiſted of 200 noblemen of Motezuma's houſhold, uniformly adorned with feathers, who approached in two files with their eyes fixed on the ground; but on their approaching the Spaniards, fell back on each ſide. Then appeared at a conſiderable diſtance a larger company more richly adorned, in the midſt of whom was Motezuma in a chariot of burniſhed gold, ſurrounded with beautiful feathers, and carried on the ſhoulders of his favourites; while four perſons of diſtinction held over his head a canopy of green feathers, interwoven with ornaments of ſilver. He was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which they from time to time lifted up as a ſignal of the emperor's approach, that all might proſtrate themſelves, and hide their heads. Cortes diſmounted at a ſmall diſtance, and Motezuma at the ſame time

alighted from his chariot, when ſome of the Indians advanced before and ſpread carpets, that his feet might not touch the ground. He came forward with a ſlow and ſolemn pace, leaning upon his couſins, the princes of Tezeuco and Iztapalapa. He was about forty years of age, of a middle ſtature, and had a good preſence; but his conſtitution ſeemed rather delicate than robuſt. He had an aquiline noſe, and a fairer complexion than the reſt of the Mexicans: his eyes were lively, and his hair reached a little below his ears; but his look, though thoughtful, was majeſtic. He wore on his head a kind of golden mitre; a mantle of fine cotton covered with gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, was careleſsly tied on his ſhoulders; and his ſhoes, which reſembled the ſandals of the Romans, conſiſted of a gold ſole, bound to his foot, with ſtudded ſtraps that came round a part of his leg.

Cortes, on ſeeing him, haſtily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Motezuma returned in the manner of his country, by touching the ground with his hand and kiſſing it: at which the Mexicans were greatly aſtoniſhed, ſince they had never ſeen any of their emperors give ſuch an inſtance of condeſcenſion. Cortes wore about his neck a chain of glaſs, curiouſly ſet in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reſerved as a preſent for his firſt audience; and coming up cloſe to the emperor, he threw it about his neck. The princes who ſupported him, ſhewed ſome emotion, and interpoſed to prevent Cortes, ſignifying that it was unlawful to approach ſo near: but they were reprimanded by Motezuma, who bowed his head to ſhew that he accepted the preſent; and which he returned, by putting upon Cortes's neck a rich ornament of crimſon ſhells, joined together with great art, at each of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanſhip. Cortes then made a ſhort ſpeech; which being anſwered by Motezuma, he ordered one of the ſupporters to conduct

conduct the ſtranger to his lodging, and then leaning on the other, went to his chair and returned to the palace.

In this manner Cortes entered the city of Mexico on the 8th of November, 1519. One of the royal palaces was provided for the Spaniards. It was built by Motezuma's father, and was large enough to lodge the whole army. It had very thick ſtone walls; was flanked with towers, and many of the chambers were furniſhed with cotton hangings, and feather-work of various colours. The chairs were formed out of ſolid pieces of wood, and the bedſteads had curtains like pavilions; the beds themſelves were of palm-mats, and the bolſters of the ſame, rolled up. Cortes entered theſe lodgings a little after twelve at noon; and had no ſooner diſtributed his guards and placed his artillery before the gate, than he found a ſplendid banquet prepared for himſelf and his officers, and great plenty of proviſions dreſſed for the ſoldiers, with many Mexicans who immediately waited upon them in the moſt profound ſilence.

In the evening Cortes was viſited by Motezuma, who came in the ſame ſtate as before. Cortes went to the principal ſquare to meet him; and after making a profound reverence, entered the apartment with Motezuma, who took his ſeat with an air of majeſty, and ordered a chair to be brought for Cortes: when the company retiring to ſome diſtance, he is ſaid to have addreſſed himſelf to him to the following purpoſe: "Before you mention the particulars "of your embaſſy, illuſtrious captain, let you and I "lay aſide the prejudices we have each imbibed of "the other, from the miſrepreſentations of common "report. You have been in ſome places told that I "am a god; that my power is invincible, and my "riches immenſe; that my palaces are covered with "gold, and that the earth groans beneath the weight "of my treaſure. Upon other occaſions, you have "heard that I am a tyrant, inſolent, cruel, and un-

" juſt; but you have been impoſed upon by both
" repreſentations: this arm of fleſh and blood ſhews
" that I am mortal, and theſe walls and roofs de-
" monſtrate that my palaces are not covered with
" gold; and from theſe inſtances, you may conclude
" that the account of my vices is alſo exaggerated,
" by the malice of my enemies. We have alſo re-
" ceived various accounts of you; ſome have affirmed
" that you are gods who graſp the thunder, com-
" mand the elements, and compel the beaſts of the
" foreſt to obey your directions. You have been re-
" preſented by others as proud, vindictive, volup-
" tuous, and tranſported with an inſatiable thirſt
" after the gold which our country produces. Yet
" I now ſee that I have been alike deceived by theſe
" different accounts. You are made like other men;
" and only diſtinguiſhed from us, by the particulari-
" ties of your own country. The beaſts that ſo readily
" obey you, are large deer trained up to diſcipline.
" Your arms that produced lightning, I conceive to
" be barrels of metal, and their effect like that of
" our ſarbacans, proceeds from air compreſſed and
" ſtriving for vent; and as to fire, noiſe and ſmoke,
" they ſurely are owing to enchantment. In a word,
" we believe that the great prince, to whom you pay
" obedience, is a deſcendant of Quezalcoal, lord of
" the ſeven caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful
" ſovereign of the ſeven nations that gave riſe to the
" Mexican empire. For from the tradition of many
" ages, we know that he left theſe countries to con-
" quer new regions in the eaſt, with a promiſe, that in
" proceſs of time, his deſcendants ſhould return to new-
" model our laws, and reform our government. We
" have therefore already determined, that every thing
" ſhall be done for the honour of a prince who is
" the offspring of ſuch an illuſtrious progenitor."
To this ſpeech Cortes replied to the following pur-
poſe: " We have, it is true, Sir, heard very oppo-
" ſite accounts of your character, which ſome have

" extolled, and others have vilified; but as the Spa-
" niards have penetration enough to diſtinguiſh the co-
" lours of diſcourſe, we have given no credit either to
" your flatterers or your rebels, but come into your
" preſence with full aſſurance of your being a great
" and equitable prince. You juſtly conclude we are
" mortal; though more intelligent and valiant than
" your vaſſals. Our beaſts are not deer, but are of
" a more generous ſpecies; inclined to war, and aſ-
" piring, with a kind of ambition, to the glory of
" their maſters: and as to our arms, they are made
" by human induſtry, without the aſſiſtance of magic,
" an abominable art which we deteſt. I am come as
" ambaſſador to your majeſty from the moſt power-
" ful monarch on whom the ſun ſheds his beams, at
" his firſt riſing. He deſires to be your friend and
" confederate; and though according to your tra-
" ditions he might pretend to be more abſolute in
" theſe dominions, he makes no other uſe of his au-
" thority, but to promote your advantage, and to
" convince you that you have departed from the
" worſhip of the true God, to pay your adora-
" tion to inſenſible pieces of wood, carved out by
" your own hands, to whom you inhumanly ſacrifice
" your fellow creatures." He made uſe of other arguments to induce Motezuma to renounce his idolatry; and having ended his ſpeech, the emperor aroſe, ſaying, " I accept the friendſhip and confederacy of
" the great deſcendant of Quezalcoal; but all gods
" are good, and yours may be ſo without offence to
" mine. In the mean time repoſe yourſelves, you
" are in your own houſe, where you ſhall be punctu-
" ally ſerved with all poſſible reſpect." He then gave orders for ſome Mexicans without to bring in a preſent that he deſigned for Cortes, and which was a very valuable one, conſiſting of pieces of gold, cotton robes, and other curioſities; and at the ſame time, with an air of chearful generoſity, he diſtribut-

ed ſome jewels among the Spaniards who were preſent.

The next day Cortes demanded an audience, which was immediately granted; he therefore dreſſed himſelf in his gayeſt apparel, without quitting his arms, and ſet out for the palace with Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Diego de Ordaz, Pedro de Alverado, and ſix or ſeven favourite ſoldiers. The ſtreets were crowded with vaſt multitudes of people, who made way to let them paſs, often pronouncing amidſt their acclamations the word Teule, or God; with which the Spaniards were pleaſed, from the opinion that this extraordinary veneration would contribute to their ſucceſs. At ſome diſtance appeared Motezuma's palace; a prodigious pile of building which had thirty gates that opened to as many different ſtreets. The principal front took up one ſide of a ſpacious ſquare, and was of red, white, and black jaſper, beautifully poliſhed; and in a large ſhield over the gate, was repreſented Motezuma's arms, a griffin with its wings extended, holding a tyger in its talons. When the Spaniards approached this entrance, the Mexicans who accompanied Cortes, walked up to one ſide of it; then retiring, formed a ſemicircle, that they might enter two a-breaſt: for it was eſteemed irreverent to enter the royal palace in a crowd. After their having paſſed three ſquares, they reached Motezuma's apartments, which they admired for their largeneſs and furniture. The walls were covered with cotton hangings, interwoven with furs; and the innermoſt rooms were adorned with a very beautiful kind of tapeſtry, compoſed of feathers. The floors were covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypreſs, cedar, and other kinds of odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and relievos; and though the uſe of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the cielings were ſo contrived, that the planks ſupported each other. In theſe ſpacious rooms were officers who guarded

guarded the entrance, and at the door of the antichamber, were the nobility and magiſtrates, who received Cortes with much civility; but detained him till they had taken off their ſandals and rich mantles, and put on others, that made a leſs ſplendid appearance: for they thought it preſumptuous to appear in their richeſt apparel before the emperor. Motezuma, who was ſtanding with all his enſigns of royalty about him, advanced ſome ſteps to meet Cortes; who coming forward with a low bow, the emperor laid his hands upon his ſhoulders, gave the reſt of the Spaniards a ſmile, and then ſeating himſelf, deſired them to ſit, and entered into converſation with great freedom; aſked ſeveral queſtions, relating to the manners and politics of the eaſtern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the anſwers of Cortes. He then mentioned, how much the Mexicans were obliged to the deſcendants of their firſt king; and ſeemed to rejoice in having the prophecy fulfilled in his reign. Cortes turned the diſcourſe upon religion, and particularly exclaimed againſt human ſacrifices with ſuch warmth, that Motezuma from that day baniſhed diſhes of human fleſh from his table; though he maintained, that there was no cruelty in offering to the gods the priſoners of war, who were already condemned to death.

Some days after this interview, Motezuma, who was ſtill very fond of his own religion, conducted Cortes and ſome of his principal officers, with father Bartholomew, to the chief temple, in order to let them ſee its magnificence; but before they were admitted, he cautioned them to behave with decency. The gates of this ſpacious edifice being opened, he himſelf explained the particulars of their worſhip with ſuch ſolemnity, as excited the laughter of the Spaniards, whoſe rudeneſs upon this occaſion is not excuſable. Cortes being here tranſported by a ridiculous and unreaſonable zeal, cried to Motezuma, "Allow me, Sir, to fix the croſs of Chriſt

" before theſe images of the devil, and you will ſee " whether they deſerve adoration or contempt." Both Motezuma and the prieſts were enraged at this propoſal: the former deſired them to withdraw, and following him to the threſhold, added, " You may " return to your houſe, my friends; but I ſhall ſtay " to aſk pardon of my gods, for having ſuffered " you to proceed ſo far." Yet notwithſtanding his zeal for his religion, he was ſo far from thinking of tyrannizing over the conſciences of the Spaniards, that he ordered workmen to be ſent to aſſiſt them in fitting up a chapel; in which both he and his chiefs were frequently preſent when maſs was performed.

It may here be proper to give a more particular deſcription of the city of Mexico, which was divided into two parts: one, where the meaner ſort reſided, was called Tlatelulco; while the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility, had the name of Mexico; which from thence was given to the whole city, that contained 60,000 families. This capital ſtood in a ſpacious plain, encompaſſed by high rocks and mountains; from which many rivulets falling down into the valley, formed ſeveral lakes: among which there were two that extended about 30 leagues in circumference, and were ſurrounded by fifty towns. Theſe lakes had a communication with each other through openings left in a ſtone wall, by which they were divided; and over theſe openings were wooden bridges, with ſluices on each ſide, by which the lower lake was ſupplied from the other. The water of the uppermoſt was freſh, while that of the lower was ſalt; which ſolely proceeded from the nature of the ſoil. The city of Mexico ſtood in the middle of the ſalt lake, in 19°. 13′. north latitude, yet it enjoyed a mild and healthy climate. It was joined to the main-land by three noble cauſeways. The ſtreets were ſtraight and large, and had a great number of canals for the convenience of water-carriage, in barks and canoes of different ſizes; above

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50,000 of which belonged to the city. All the public edifices and houſes of the nobility were built of ſtone; and though the dwellings of the common people were meaner, and more irregular, they, as well as the others, were laid out in ſuch a manner, as to form ſeveral courts, in which their merchandize was expoſed to ſale.

Their temples, as has been already obſerved, were ſpacious and magnificent, particularly that dedicated to Vitzliputzli, their god of war, their ſupreme deity. A wall of hewn ſtone, on which were cut wreaths of ſerpents, ſurrounded a large ſquare; and though the houſes of the prieſts and their ſervants were erected round the inſide of this wall, there was left room ſufficient for 10,000 perſons to dance upon their ſolemn feſtivals. On each ſide of the wall was a gate, over which were four ſtatues of ſtone, repreſenting ſome inferior deities; to whom the people paid reverence as they entered. At a ſmall diſtance from the principal gate, was a place of worſhip, flat on the top; the four ſides of which were encompaſſed by trunks of trees, with holes bored in them at equal diſtances, through which paſſed ſeveral bars run through the heads of men who had been ſacrificed. In the centre of the ſquare ſtood a lofty ſtone tower, with a ſtair-caſe that conſiſted of 120 ſteps, by which the people aſcended to the top, where was a flat pavement 40 feet ſquare, beautifully paved with jaſper, and ſurrounded with a balluſtrade of a ſerpentine form. At the top of the ſtairs ſtood two marble ſtatues, well executed, ſupporting two large candleſticks of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green ſtone, raiſed about three feet from the pavement, on which the prieſts extended the miſerable victim, while they opened his breaſt and plucked out his heart. Beyond this ſtone ſtood a chapel of excellent workmanſhip, which fronted the ſtair-caſe; and here the idol was placed upon a high altar, ſurrounded with curtains. This idol was i:

the form of a man ſitting in a chair, ſuſtained by a blue globe, furniſhed with four rods, which project from the ſides, each terminating in a ſerpent's head. By theſe rods, the idol was carried by the prieſts on their ſhoulders, when it was expoſed to public view: on the head of the god was an helmet, compoſed of plumes, in the form of a bird, with a bill and creſt of burniſhed gold. The countenance of this deity was horrible. The ornaments were of ineſtimable value. The city of Mexico had eight temples, built nearly in the ſame manner; but thoſe of a ſmaller ſize, dedicated to different idols, amounted to 2000.

Motezuma had, beſide the palace in which he kept his court, ſeveral magnificent pleaſure-houſes; one of which was a noble building, ſupported by pillars of jaſper. In this edifice he had an aviary of thoſe birds that are moſt remarkable on account of their ſinging and feathers; and theſe were ſo numerous, that three hundred men were ſaid to be employed in attending them. At a ſmall diſtance was another very large edifice, where Motezuma's fowlers reſided, and took care of his birds of prey; among which were ſome bred to the game, like our hawks: and in the ſame place were eagles of an extraordinary ſize, and extremely voracious. In the ſecond ſquare of this laſt building were kept the wild beaſts, as lions, tigers, bears, and Mexican bulls, which are remarkably fierce and ſtrong; and over their dens was a large apartment, where buffoons and monſters were kept for the emperor's diverſion. All theſe ſeveral houſes had ſpacious and well cultivated gardens, in which were a great variety of flowers and medicinal herbs ſet in ſquares. They were alſo adorned with fountains and beautiful ſummer houſes.

But the moſt ſingular of all Motezuma's edifices was his houſe of ſorrow, to which he retired in caſe of any public calamity, or at the death of a favourite relation. It was well calculated for promoting gloomy reflections; for the walls, roofs, and ornaments

ments were black, and no other light was admitted, but what proceeded from ſome narrow openings in the walls, which were but juſt ſufficient to diſcover the gloomy objects within.

Motezuma had alſo ſeveral pleaſant country retreats, and large foreſts for the chaſe of wild beaſts, in which he greatly delighted. In theſe ſports a number of perſons ſurrounded the game, and contracted the circle into a certain ſpace, where he beheld the combats of his huntſmen with the wild beaſts, in which the Mexicans were equally dexterous and daring.

Motezuma had two ſorts of guards; the one of 200 nobles, who were obliged to attend every day at the palace, to guard his perſon. This attendance was divided between two bodies that were upon duty by turns, comprehending the lords of the whole empire, who were obliged to come to court from the moſt diſtant provinces. This was a ſcheme which Motezuma himſelf had contrived for keeping the nobility in dependance, and rendering himſelf acquainted with their perſons, capacities and diſpoſitions. His other guards were compoſed of ſoldiers, who filled the courts of the palace, and were poſted in bodies at the principal gates.

Motezuma had two wives, who bore the title of queens, and were the daughters of tributary princes; theſe were lodged in ſeparate apartments, and lived in equal ſplendor. His concubines, however, who were ſelected from the moſt beautiful women throughout his dominions, exceeded 3000; and theſe, when diſmiſſed, were married by perſons of the firſt quality: for they were generally rich, and thought to be highly honoured by their being admitted to the emperor's embraces.

Though he often ate in public, it was always alone. His table was generally furniſhed with above 200 diſhes of different meats, ſome of which were well ſeaſoned. Of theſe he choſe a certain number for

his own uſe, and the reſt were divided among the nobles and his guards. He ſat on a little ſtool at a large low table; the cloths and napkins of which were of fine cotton. His dining-room was divided in the middle by a rail, which kept both the crowd and his own domeſtics at a diſtance, without obſtructing the view; and within the rail he was attended by three or four old favourite ſervants. The diſhes were brought in by twenty women richly ornamented, who ſerved up the meat, and preſented him with the cup. The cloths and napkins, as well as all the diſhes of fine earthen ware, on their being once uſed, were diſtributed among the ſervants. After his meals he took a kind of chocolate, and ſmoaked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. Indeed the juice of this herb was one of the ingredients with which the prieſts intoxicated themſelves, whenever they were obliged to deliver an oracular anſwer. There were generally at the table three or four buffoons, who diverted the emperor with their ludicrous talents; and at proper intervals he was entertained with muſic, compoſed of pipes and inſtruments made of ſea ſhells, accompanied by voices, which formed an agreeable concert. The ſubject of theſe ſongs was generally the memorable actions of their kings, and the exploits of their anceſtors. They had alſo merry ſongs uſed in dancing; when the voice was accompanied with two little drums, made of hollow pieces of wood, of different ſizes and ſounds.

Upon other occaſions the people aſſembled in the porches and ſquares of the temples, made matches for wreſtling, running races, and ſhooting at a mark. Here were likewiſe rope-dancers, who performed with ſurpriſing dexterity, without the aſſiſtance of poles; and alſo great numbers of people playing at ball, near the ſtatue of an idol brought out by the prieſts, as the ſuperintendant of that diverſion. In ſhort, the people of Mexico were almoſt daily diverted

verted with ſuch ſpectacles and amuſements, as were calculated by Motezuma to entertain them, and prevent their employing their thoughts to his prejudice.

The great revenue which enabled Motezuma to ſupport the expence of his court, and to keep two large armies conſtantly in the field, aroſe from the contributions levied on the ſubject, which amounted to one third of the annual produce of that vaſt empire; from the ſalt-works and other taxes, eſtabliſhed from time immemorial, and from the produce of the gold and ſilver mines. All the towns in the neighbourhood of Mexico provided men for the king's works, and fuel for the palace. The nobility were obliged to guard the emperor's perſon, to ſerve in his armies with a certain number of vaſſals, and to make him preſents; which, though he received as gifts, they durſt not neglect. He had different treaſures for all the different kinds of contributions; and the tribunal of the crown revenue, having iſſued out what was neceſſary for the expence of the palaces, and for war, converted the overplus into ingots of gold. Beſide this tribunal, there was a council of juſtice, which received appeals from inferior courts; a council of ſtate, and a council of war; judges of commerce, and other officers. As they had no written laws, but were governed by the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of their anceſtors, their trials were ſummary and verbal: murder, theft, adultery, and any ſlight diſreſpect toward the emperor, were puniſhed with death; but all other crimes were eaſily pardoned.

When an emperor was elected, he was obliged to obtain ſome victory over his enemies, before he was permitted to aſcend the throne: but having thus proved himſelf qualified for the taſk of reigning, by his ſucceſs, he returned in triumph; and having made his public entry with great ſtate and ſolemnity, all the nobility, miniſters, and prieſts, attended him

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to the temple of the god of war, where he alighted fro[m] his chariot, and having offered the accuſtomary ſacri[-] fice, was cloathed by the electors in royal robes; wh[ile] alſo put into his right hand, a golden ſword, as an e[m] ſign of juſtice; and in his left, a bow and arrows, t[o] ſignify his power and command in war. Then th[e] cacique of Tezeuco placed a kind of gold mitr[e] on his head. This ceremony being performed, one of the moſt eloquent of the magiſtrates made a ſpeech, in which he congratulated him on his ne[w] dignity; expatiated on the cares and troubles th[at] attend a throne, and upon the duty of a ſovereig[n]. The chief prieſt then approaching, tendered him [an] oath; by which he bound himſelf to maintain th[e] religion of his anceſtors, and the laws and cuſtom[s] of the empire; to treat his vaſſals with lenity: and abſurdly promiſed to procure ſeaſonable rains, to pre[-] vent ſterility, inundations, and the malignant in[-]ences of the ſun and planets.

New-born infants were taken with great ſolemnity to the temples, where the prieſts gave them ſuita[-]ble admonitions relating to the troubles to which they were born. When the child was the ſon of one of the nobles, they put a ſword into his right hand, and upon his left arm a ſhield, kept in the temple for that purpoſe. If he was of a plebeian extrac[-]tion, they put mechanical inſtruments in his hands; but the females of both ranks were preſented with the ſpindle and diſtaff. After this ceremony was performed, the infant was taken to the altar, and his privities pricked with a thorn, or cut with a lan[-]cet of flint, ſo as to draw a few drops of blood; which was no ſooner done, than they were ſprinkled with water. The children of the plebeians were in[-]ſtructed in public ſchools, and thoſe of the nobility in well endowed colleges, where they paſſed through three ſucceſſive claſſes; in the firſt of which they were taught to read the characters and hieroglyphics, and to repeat the hiſtorical ſongs: in the ſecond, they

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were inſtructed in the rules of civility, modeſty, and a polite behaviour: and in the third, they were inured to robuſt exerciſes, as wreſtling, managing their arms; the hardſhips of ſuffering hunger and thirſt, and the inclemencies of the weather. Having acquired theſe qualifications, the young noblemen who were deſigned for war, were ſent as volunteers to the army, in order to accuſtom them to dangers and hardſhips; where they were often placed among the baggage-men, and their ſhoulders loaded with proviſions, to mortify their vanity, and inure their bodies to fatigue. After which they were obliged to give ſome proofs of valour, before they could be enrolled as ſoldiers.

Their marriage ceremony was very ſimple: for the contract being ſettled, the parties appeared in the temple; when the prieſt having examined them with reſpect to their mutual paſſion, he tied a tip of the woman's veil to the corner of the bridegroom's garment, and accompanied them, joined in this manner, to their habitation, where they went ſeven times round the fire, and then ſitting down to receive an equal ſhare of the heat, the marriage was compleated. The huſband then requeſted the bride's portion; but, in caſe of ſeparation, was afterward obliged to return it, which was often effected by mutual conſent. In that caſe, the boys remained with the father, and the girls with the mother; and the marriage being thus diſſolved, the parties were forbid to join again on pain of death.

The Mexicans believed the immortality of the ſoul, and that it was rewarded or puniſhed in a future ſtate; but buried gold and ſilver with the deceaſed to defray the expence of their journey, which they imagined to be long and troubleſome. Some ſervants were even ſlain to bear them company; and the wives frequently killed themſelves in order to accompany their huſbands: and when the emperor died,

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all his houſhold officers and favourites were obliged to follow him to the other world.

The Mexican year, as well as ours, conſiſted of 365 days; but was divided into eighteen months, of twenty days each; and at the end of the year, five days appropriated to pleaſure, and a ceſſation from buſineſs, were added to make it anſwer the courſe of the ſun. They had alſo a kind of weeks of thirteen days, to which different names were given; and a much longer period, ſtiled ages, which conſiſted of four weeks of years. This large period was repreſented in a very ſingular manner: In the centre of a circle, divided into fifty two degrees, allowing a year for each, they painted the ſun; from whoſe rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each quarter: and here the ſun had his proſperous or adverſe aſpects, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, which incloſed the other, they marked with their characters the chief occurrences of the age; and theſe ſecular annals were conſidered as public inſtruments that ſerved for proofs of hiſtorical facts.

The Mexicans ſeemed to vie with each other, in expreſſing their regard for the Spaniards. They were daily entertained with ſome new diverſion, at which Motezuma appeared in perſon; a condeſcenſion that inſpired the people with a higher reverence and eſteem for theſe ſtrangers. He appeared particularly fond of Cortes; ſpending great part of his time with him: and contracted an acquaintance with his captains, to whom he frequently made preſents; in which he diſtinguiſhed the merit of each with great diſcernment. Thus the Spaniards enjoyed an agreeable repoſe; but were at length alarmed by a letter from Vera Cruz, brought by two Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, who had diſguiſed themſelves, ſo as to appear like Mexicans, and had entered the city unperceived.

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This letter informed Cortes, that ſome of the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards complained to Juan de Eſcalante, that Qualpopoca, one of Motezuma's generals, had aſſembled a great body of forces upon the frontiers of Zempoalla, where they levied contributions with great cruelty. Upon which Eſcalante ſent to deſire the Mexican general to ſuſpend hoſtilities till further orders ſhould come from Mexico, where the Spaniards, the allies of thoſe people, were entertained by Motezuma with great hoſpitality. But Qualpopoca ſending a very inſolent anſwer, Eſcalante was ſo provoked, that he marched againſt him at the head of forty Spaniards, and 2000 Indians; and coming to an engagement, he put the Mexicans to flight; and notwithſtanding his being almoſt entirely abandoned by his Indian allies, purſued them to the next town, where he attacked them with ſuch reſolution, that he entirely routed and diſlodged them. This victory however coſt the Spaniards very dear; for Juan de Eſcalante was mortally wounded, ſix of the ſoldiers alſo received ſeveral wounds, and Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary ſtature, was carried off alive. In this letter the council of Vera Cruz deſired Cortes to appoint them a new governor, and to give directions relating to their affairs.

Cortes being greatly concerned at the loſs of Juan de Eſcalante, he communicated the letter to his captains; deſired that each of them would give his opinion freely at their next meeting; and the following morning ſent for ſome of the moſt ſenſible Indians in his army, when having aſked them, if they had lately perceived any change in the behaviour or diſcourſe of the Mexicans? They informed him, that the nobles appeared penſive and myſterious; that they had heard ſome of the people talk of breaking down the cauſeway; and that there was a report that a Spaniard's head had been preſented to Motezuma, who viewed it with aſtoniſhment on account of its

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largeneſs, and the fierceneſs of its aſpect, and immediately ordered it to be concealed.

From theſe circumſtances, and particularly that of the head, which Cortes ſuppoſed belonged to Arguillo, he immediately concluded, that the Mexicans were reſolved on his deſtruction, and Motezuma himſelf had concerted the ruin of the Spaniards; he therefore immediately aſſembled his council, compoſed of the captains and ſome favourite ſoldiers, and having told them his hints he had received from the Indians, aſked their advice. Some propoſed that they ſhould retire privately in the night; others that they ſhould obtain a paſſport from Motezuma, and then retire publickly, and march to the relief of Vera Cruz: but the greateſt part were of opinion, that they ſhould continue at Mexico without ſeeming to know what had paſſed at Vera Cruz, till they could find a proper opportunity for retreating with ſafety. However none of theſe ſchemes were approved by Cortes, who propoſed their ſeizing Motezuma, conveying him to their own quarters, and detaining him there as an hoſtage for the ſincerity of his people. This daring propoſal he ſupported with all his eloquence, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was unanimouſly applauded.

Cortes having choſen the hour, when the Spaniards were accuſtomed to wait upon Motezuma, for the execution of his bold project, ordered his people to arm themſelves in their quarters, privately to ſaddle their horſes, and to wait without noiſe for farther inſtructions. He then occupied all the avenues to the palace, with ſmall ſcattered detachments; and directing thirty choice men to follow him at a diſtance, went thither attended by four of his captains, who, as they uſually carried their arms with them, their doing ſo now occaſioned no ſuſpicions. Motezuma, according to cuſtom, came out of his apartment to receive the viſit, and his ſervants retired,

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as uſual, to another part of the palace; when Cortes, with an air of reſentment, complained of the Mexican general for attacking his confederates, in violation of a peace, under which they thought themſelves ſecure; for murdering a Spaniard in cold blood, and endeavouring to vindicate his perfidious conduct, by declaring that he acted in obedience to his majeſty's commands.

On hearing this charge, Motezuma changed colour, but denied it with marks of confuſion; when Cortes, pretending to believe him innocent, replied, that after ſuch a declaration made by his general, neither the Spaniards nor his own ſubjects would be undeceived, unleſs he took ſome extraordinary ſtep to efface the impreſſion made by ſuch a calumny. That he was therefore come to beg, he would without any diſturbance repair with him to the Spaniſh quarters; where he ſhould be treated with all the reverence and reſpect due to his majeſty, till his character ſhould be vindicated to the ſatisfaction of all mankind. Motezuma, amazed and incenſed at the boldneſs of this requeſt, replied, that princes of his rank were not accuſtomed to go tamely to priſon; nor would his ſubjects permit his ſo far forgetting his duty, as to ſtoop to ſo baſe a compliance. Notwithſtanding Cortes made uſe of other arguments, he ſtill refuſed to leave his palace; but being ſenſible of his danger, offered to ſend immediately for Qualpopoca, and to deliver him with all his officers into Cortes's hands, and in the mean time to give him two of his ſons as hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe. Cortes, however, was not ſatisfied with theſe expedients; and his captains, apprehending that the delay might be dangerous, began to grow clamorous; and, among others, Juan Velaſquez de Leon, called aloud, ſince he will not hear reaſon, let us ſeize him by force, or kill him on the ſpot. The emperor hearing this uttered in an angry tone, deſired to know what he ſaid; when Marina,

to whom he addreſſed himſelf, earneſtly exhorted him, as his own vaſſal and ſubject, to comply without heſitation, in order to preſerve his life; which had ſuch an effect, that he inſtantly roſe from his ſeat, and ſaid to Cortes, "I truſt myſelf in your "hands, let us go to your quarters, for ſo the gods "have decreed." He then ordered his ſervants to get ready his equipage; told his miniſters that he had reſolved to paſs ſome days in the Spaniſh quarters, and ordered the captain of the guard to march with a body of troops and take Qualpopoca and his officers priſoners, that they might ſuffer for having invaded Zempoalla.

Motezuma having given theſe directions, which Marina explained to Cortes and his officers, he left the palace with his uſual attendants; the Spaniards, on pretence of reſpect, marching cloſe by his chariot, which, as uſual, was carried on the ſhoulders of his nobles. However, a report was inſtantly ſpread, that the ſtrangers ſeized the emperor's perſon; when the ſtreets were ſuddenly filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with their cries; threw themſelves on the ground, ſhedding floods of tears for their unhappy prince; and a general inſurrection would have certainly followed, had not Motezuma, with a ſerene countenance commanded ſilence, and aſſured the populace that he was going of his own accord to ſpend a few days with his friends the Spaniards. On his reaching their quarters he ordered his guards to diſperſe the populace, and his miniſters to make it known, that the leaſt tumult or diſturbance, ſhould be puniſhed with death. He then behaved in a very courteous manner to the Spaniſh ſoldiers, who came out to receive him; and having choſen an apartment, at ſome diſtance from thoſe in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, it was inſtantly furniſhed for his reception.

Cortes immediately doubled the guards, poſted centinels at all the avenues; and, under the pretence of

of keeping his majeſty from being crowded, reſtricted the miniſters and courtiers that waited upon Motezuma to a certain number. Mean while he preſerved all the formalities of decorum, and treated the emperor with his uſual reſpect, while that prince appeared chearful and in good humour, and ſeemed perfectly pleaſed with his ſituation. He ſtill exerciſed all the functions of royalty, held councils, granted audiences, and with the ſame freedom as uſual, regulated both the civil and military government of his kingdom. His table was ſupplied from the palace in a moſt plentiful manner, in order that the Spaniards might feaſt on the ſuperfluity; and he conſtantly ſent ſome delicacies to Cortes and his captains, each of whom he could call by their names. While he occaſionally converſed with them, he ſtudied their tempers, and without deſcending beneath the dignity of his character, ſeaſoned his diſcourſe with pleaſantry. All the time in which he was not employed in buſineſs, he paſſed among them; and ſometimes he played with Cortes at Tololoque, a game which conſiſted of tipping down ſmall pins of gold, with little balls of the ſame metal; and as they played for jewels and trinkets, the emperor diſtributed his winnings among the Spaniards, and Cortes ſhared his good fortune among Motezuma's inferior officers.

While things were in this ſituation, the captain of the guard returned with Qualpopoca, his ſon, and fifteen of the nobles; they had ſurrendered themſelves at the ſight of the royal ſignet, and now arrived in about twenty days after the beginning of Motezuma's confinement. Many great men went out to meet them, and their general was brought in upon men's ſhoulders, when Qualpopoca appearing before the emperor, the latter upbraided him for having killed the Spaniard, and delivered him and the other officers into the hands of Cortes, to whom they confeſſed themſelves guilty of having violated the peace of their own accord, and of their having ordered Arguillo to

be put to death, till finding that the Spaniſh general reſolved to take away their lives, they laid the whole blame upon the emperor, whoſe orders they had obeyed. Cortes, however, treated this as a malicious aſperſion, brought them to a formal trial, in which the Spaniards were both the judges and accuſers, and cruelly ſentenced them to be burned alive.

To deter Motezuma from endeavouring to prevent the execution of this ſentence, the general reſolved on taking another ſurpriſing ſtep. He went into that prince's preſence, accompanied by Marina, and three or four captains, with a common ſoldier carrying fetters, and having ſaluted the emperor with his uſual reſpect, aſſumed a peremptory look, and in a loud voice told him, that Qualpopoca and his officers had acknowledged the crimes for which they were condemned to death; but as they pretended they had done nothing without his orders, it was neceſſary that he ſhould ſuffer ſome perſonal mortification. He then, with an air of authority, commanded the ſoldier to ſhackle Motezuma, and then leaving him, gave orders to the guards to prevent his having any communication with his miniſters.

Motezuma's aſtoniſhment at being treated in this ignominious manner, was ſo great, that he had neither power to reſiſt, nor ſpeech to complain; while his ſervants, without uttering a word, threw themſelves at his feet, and, with ſigns of the deepeſt affliction, ſupported the weight of his fetters, to prevent their hurting his legs. However, when he firſt recovered from his amazement, he flew into a tranſport of rage; but ſoon recovering himſelf collected his fortitude, and believing his life in danger, waited his fate with dignity and reſignation.

In the mean time Cortes ordered the Mexican general, with his ſon and the reſt of the officers, to be conducted under a ſtrong guard of Spaniards, to a large ſquare, where, in the preſence of an innumerable concourſe of people, their hands and feet were bound,

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after which they were placed on a large pile of broken bows and arrows; and fire being ſet to it, they were ſoon burned, to the amazement of all the ſpectators, who, without making the leaſt diſturbance, were ſtruck with awe and admiration. Cortes then returned to Motezuma's apartment, and telling him with a ſmile, that the traitors who had preſumed to blemiſh his majeſty's character, had now received their juſt puniſhment, he ſtooped down, and with his own hands took off the fetters. The emperor received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, embraced Cortes ſeveral times, and ſitting both of them down together, entered into amicable converſation, during which the Spaniſh general let him know, that as the cauſe of his detention was now removed, he might return to his palace whenever he pleaſed. This was however no more than a political offer, which he knew he would not embrace; for Marina had been ordered to infuſe into him a firm belief, that if he quitted the Spaniſh quarters, before Cortes's departure, he would ſuffer greatly in his reputation, as ſoon as it ſhould be known that he received his liberty from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, and made a merit of his ſtay by ſaying, that on his return to his palace, his nobility and miniſters would preſs him to take up arms, in order to obtain ſatisfaction for the injury he had undergone; and therefore, out of regard to the Spaniards, he would remain where he was.

From this time the emperor ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied with his ſituation, and at length had ſuch confidence in Cortes, that he repreſented to him the expediency of allowing him to viſit ſome of his temples, that his ſubjects might no longer look upon him as a priſoner; which Cortes readily granted, upon condition that human ſacrifices ſhould be aboliſhed. His firſt excurſion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his uſual pomp and attendance, and his appearance was celebrated with the joyful acclamations of the people, among whom he diſtributed his bounty

with uncommon liberality. From this time he went abroad as often as he pleaſed, ſometimes to the palace of his wives, and at others to his pleaſure-houſes, where he enjoyed his former amuſements, but never without mentioning it to Cortes, who generally attended him in his parties of diverſion, and ſeemed ſo highly to engroſs his favour, that the nobles who had any petition to offer to the emperor, conſtantly ſollicited the general's intereſt, which always proved ſucceſsful.

But notwithſtanding this ſeeming tranquillity, the broken expreſſions overheard by the Tlaſcalans, about breaking the cauſeways, and removing the bridges, had made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon Cortes's mind, that he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the lake, by building two brigantines upon it.

Filled with this idea, he raiſed Motezuma's curioſity, by deſcribing the manner of ſailing with the wind, which was entirely unknown to the Mexicans, and obtained his permiſſion to build two veſſels for his majeſty's amuſement, and the inſtruction of his ſubjects. He then ordered the nails, cordage, canvas, and other tackle, belonging to the Spaniſh ſhips that had been ſunk, to be brought from Vera Cruz, and ſome builders who had enliſted as ſoldiers, were immediately ſet at work, with many of the Mexican carpenters, who followed their directions, ſo that in a ſhort time the brigantines were compleated, and Motezuma reſolved to embark with the Spaniards, in order to have a nearer view of this ſtrange kind of navigation. Great preparations were made for this uncommon ſpectacle; a prodigious number of canoes belonging to the emperor and others, were finely decorated and manned with the moſt expert rowers. The Mexicans firmly believing that their boats would exceed the brigantines in ſwiftneſs: However, a breeze no ſooner ſprung up, than theſe veſſels unfurled their ſails, and ſoon left the canoes at a great diſtance, to the great amazement of the Indians; who could

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form no idea of the European manner of ſteering and working ſuch floating houſes: and they expreſsly declared, that by means of theſe wonderful machines, they believed the Spaniards could perfectly command the elements of wind and water. The aſtoniſhment of Motezuma was mingled with joy, and he beheld the victory with the higheſt delight, though it was obtained over his own ſubjects.

The emperor now became daily more attached to Cortes, while the latter laid hold of this opportunity, to deſire his aſſiſtance in accompliſhing various things he had in view: the firſt of which was the knowledge of the gold mines; their ſituation; how they were wrought, and what quantity of that precious metal was brought from them. Motezuma gave him very clear and diſtinct anſwers to all thoſe inquiries; and for his further ſatisfaction, allowed ſuch of his people as he could truſt, to go to the mines, both within and without his dominions. Cortes being alſo deſirous of having a map of the coaſt of the Mexican empire, in order to be the better able to fix upon ſome port, to which ſupplies might be ſent him, the emperor ordered his painters to draw an exact repreſentation of all his territories, with all the bays, harbours, and creeks upon the coaſt.

While the Spaniſh general continued to enjoy Motezuma's favour, a plot was formed, which neither the emperor nor Cortes could foreſee. Cacumazin, the emperor's own nephew, who was cacique of Tezuco, being a young man of great vivacity, art, and ambition, under the pretence of delivering Motezuma, entertained deſigns of aſcending the throne of Mexico, either by occaſioning an immediate revolution, or by obtaining it by the favour of the people at the next election. Motezuma was no ſooner informed of this plot, than he went to communicate the particulars to Cortes, who by means of his ſpies, was already informed of the whole. He however returned the emperor thanks for his information, and

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... Motezuma appeared ſo well ſatisfied
... he was far from being pleaſed at the
...aying ſo long in his capital, and ſeveral
... reflections diſturbed his repoſe. He,
... entirely concealed the diſpoſition of his
... when he actually propoſed to Cortes the
... had formed to get rid of him, Cortes was
... from conceiving it in that light, that he
... it the higheſt act of favour Motezuma had
...conferred upon him. He took a proper oppor-
...to inform him, that he was now prepared to
... a voluntary acknowledgement of the vaſſalage
the king of Spain, as the ſucceſſor of

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Quezalcoal; that he would convoke a general aſſembly of his nobles for that purpoſe, and as a mark of that vaſſalage, would preſent the moſt valuable jewels of his treaſury to the Spaniſh monarch, and did not doubt but all his caciques would follow his example.

Motezuma, agreeably to his promiſe, diſpatched courtiers to convene all the caciques of his empire, according to a cuſtom practiſed on important occaſions. They came with equal ſplendor and expedition, and the council was aſſembled in the king's apartment, in the preſence of Cortes and his captains. The emperor began with a ſtudied ſpeech, in which he reminded them of the obligations they were under to him as their ſovereign and benefactor; and having aſſured them, that he had both conſulted and obtained the approbation of the gods, with reſpect to the cauſe of their meeting, repeated the ſtory and prophecy of Quezalcoal, declared that the king of Spain was the deſcendant of that mighty prince, and conſequently the lawful ſovereign of the Mexican Empire, to whom both he and they were bound to pay obedience, as a mark of which he had ſelected for an offering to the king of Spain the moſt precious jewels of his treaſury, and he did not doubt but they would follow his example.

Motezuma was unable to pronounce this ſpeech without interruption, he ſighed from time to time, and on his owning himſelf the vaſſal of another prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks, and he was unable to proceed. Cortes then ariſing, declared that it was not his ſovereign's intention to diſpoſſeſs Motezuma, or to occaſion the leaſt innovation in his government, and that he only required them to ſettle his rights to the ſucceſſion in favour of his deſcendants; at which Motezuma reſuming freſh courage, finiſhed his ſpeech. The whole aſſembly were amazed, and ſtruck dumb at a propoſal that appeared ſo inconſiſtent with the dignity and known character of the emperor; and conſidering it as extorted by compulſion, they groaned

ed bitterly; and with an emphatic ſilence looked at each other. It is probable that Motezuma's ſole intention in this tranſaction, was to forward the departure of his gueſts, without the leaſt deſign of fulfilling the terms of this ſubmiſſion for the future. However, from that day, Charles V. was acknowledged, and believed by the people to be the lawful ſovereign of the Mexican empire, and their homage, according to the cuſtom of the country, was authenticated by a public inſtrument.

The emperor, having concluded this affair to his own ſatisfaction, reſolved immediately to recover that liberty and independence for which he had ſo long ſighed in ſecret, and ſpeedily delivered to Cortes the preſent he had provided, conſiſting of curioſities in gold, in the ſhape of birds, fiſhes, and four-footed beaſts, and many precious ſtones, particularly a number of a ſort eſteemed by the Mexicans above all others, which in colour reſembled emeralds, and many beautiful pictures, formed of variegated feathers. In ſhort the whole ſeemed the ranſom of a great prince, who thought he could not purchaſe his liberty at too high a price; and the liberality of the nobles was ſuch as might be expected from wealthy chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and oſtentation.

Motezuma having thus accompliſhed his ſubjection to Spain, ſent for Cortes, and with an air of greater dignity than uſual, told him, that as his buſineſs was now diſpatched, he ought to think of departing, ſince his ſtaying any longer would be attributed to ſiniſter motives; nor could he longer afford him ſupport when he had not reaſon on his ſide. This intimation, and the manner in which it was delivered, were ſo unexpected, that Cortes was ſome time before he could recollect himſelf, ſo as to make a proper reply. He now perceived the deſign of convoking the aſſembly, and ſuſpected that Motezuma had privately aſſembled forces in order to back this propoſal, and there-

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fore ſent one of the Spaniards who was with him to order his ſoldiers to take to their arms; and in the mean while excuſed his embarraſſment at ſeeing his majeſty more moved than uſual, aſſuring him that he was ſo far from deſigning to delay his departure, that he came on purpoſe to deſire his permiſſion to build ſome veſſels to carry the Spaniards to their own country, as his majeſty well knew they had loſt their ſhips, in which they had ſailed to that coaſt.

It is ſaid that the emperor had provided 50,000 men to ſupport his determination; but it is certain that he was very deſirous of avoiding a rupture with Cortes, and was even under ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to the anſwer he might receive; but he no ſooner heard this artful reply, than he embraced him with ſingular marks of affection, and having now loſt his fears, told him with great complacency, that he did not intend to haſten his departure before he was provided for the voyage, and that he ſhould be ſpeedily furniſhed with every thing he wanted. Cortes ſeemed in equal haſte to be gone, and diſpatched his builders to Vera Cruz, in order to collect the remainder of the iron-work, rigging, and ſails of the veſſels which had been ſunk; but at the ſame time ſent private directions to Martin Lopez his maſter-builder, to proceed ſlowly, and prolong the work as much as poſſible: his real deſign being to preſerve his footing at Mexico till the return of his commiſſaries from Spain.

He thus for the preſent quieted the minds of Motezuma and his ſubjects; but a very few days produced an extraordinary alteration in his affairs. The emperor received intelligence that eighteen ſhips had appeared upon the coaſt of Pilleca, and by the paintings made for his majeſty's information, theſe ſhips ſeemed to be manned with Spaniards. This circumſtance naturally alarmed the whole empire, and revived the ſuſpicions that had been entertained of Cortes, to whom Motezuma immediately communicated this intelligence; letting him know at the ſame time,

time, that it muſt now be unneceſſary for him to proceed in building ſhips, ſince he might embark in thoſe ſent from his own country. Cortes examined the paintings, and was convinced of their being Spaniſh veſſels; but ſuppoſing that they were ſent to him from Spain, with a ſupply of troops and ammunition, anſwered with great compoſure, that he would immediately embark, if they were going to return to any of the King of Spain's dominions; but that it would be imprudent to deſiſt from building, till he ſhould be informed of particulars. But a few days after this converſation, Cortes received a letter from Gonzalo de Sandoval, by which he was informed that this fleet contained 800 men, and was ſent by Diego Velaſquez to oppoſe him and his deſigns in Mexico. He received this mortifying account while he was in converſation with Motezuma, and was obliged to make uſe of all his prudence and reſolution to conceal the emotions he felt upon this occaſion, from the obſervation of that prince. He however ſucceeded in his endeavours, and retired in order to deliberate upon this unexpected event. But it is here neceſſary to mention the reception Cortes's commiſſaries found at the court of Spain, and the cauſes that prompted Velaſquez to fit out ſuch a fleet againſt him.

It has been already obſerved that Cortes and the council of Vera Cruz, ſent Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Franciſco de Montejo, with letters for the king of Spain, together with the firſt tribute ſent from New Spain. Theſe gentlemen, contrary to the orders they had received, touched at the iſland of Cuba, in order that Franciſco de Montejo might have the pleaſure of viſiting his family and relations who reſided near the Havannah, and at ſo great a diſtance from Velaſquez, that they flattered themſelves they ran no riſk, either from his vigilance or reſentment. This ſtep however brought them into great danger, for Diego de Velaſquez ſuppoſing that Cortes would ſend ſome of his ſhips to St. Domingo, to ſollicit ſuccours

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of the religious governors, had placed ſpies along the coaſt, who informing him of what had happened at Montejo's houſe, he immediately diſpatched two light veſſels well manned, with orders to take the ſhip, and every perſon on board. Montejo, in conſequence of the firſt notice he had received of this meaſure, had no ſooner embarked, than he was obliged to ſail through the gulph of Florida, which was hitherto unattempted, as the only means of eſcape.

This ſhip, however, had a very proſperous voyage; but arrived at Seville at a very unfortunate conjuncture; for the chaplain Benito Martin, who had been ſent by Velaſquez to ſolicit the commiſſion of King's Lieutenant, had obtained his ſuit; ſent the commiſſion to Cuba, and was then waiting at Seville for a ſhip, in order to return thither himſelf. This man repreſented Cortes as a pirate, who had clandeſtinely ſailed with ſeveral veſſels which belonged to Velaſquez; and in conſequence of his complaint, the directors of trade ordered the ſhip and cargo to be ſeized; but as a great favour permitted the two captains, with the pilot ſent by Cortes, to apply to the king for redreſs. They accordingly ſet out for Barcelona, but there found that his majeſty was at Corunna, where he was preparing to paſs over into Flanders, in order to accept of the imperial crown. They therefore ſet out for that city, and in their way viſited Martin Cortes, who, with equal pleaſure and ſurprize, heard of the glory and ſucceſs of his ſon, whoſe death he had long deplored, and perſuaded him to accompany them to the emperor, in hopes that his character and grey hairs would give a ſanction to their ſolicitations. They had the good fortune to overtake the Count at Tordeſillas, juſt as Cortes's preſents arrived, with the Indians of the New Conqueſt from Seville; for theſe being upon the emperor's own account, they durſt not detain. His Majeſty gave them very gracious reception, and was extremely ſurprized at their account of this new diſcovered empire.

and in ſeveral conferences with them enquired minutely into every particular relating to the conqueſt. While the Indians, and the preſents that were before him, gave, as it were, ſanction to all the wonderful things they related. But as he was then on his departure to Germany, he referred Cortes's letters and ſolicitations to Cardinal Adrian, and the council, to which he had communicated the management of affairs during his abſence, deſiring that they would find out ſome method of doing juſtice to Velaſquez's pretenſions, and at the ſame time to encourage Cortes. But the preſident of this council being Velaſquez's friend, repreſented Cortes as a rebel, upon whom they could have no dependence. They however did not think proper to give him an immediate cauſe of diſcontent, though they reſolved not to ſend him any part of the ſupplies he had earneſtly requeſted, and all that the deputies could obtain, was a ſmall ſhare of what they had brought for their own ſubſiſtence; after which they for two whole years attended the court without the leaſt ſucceſs.

In the mean time Diego Velaſquez received his commiſſion of King's Lieutenant, not only of Cuba, but of all the countries that ſhould be diſcovered and conquered by his means; which, together with his being aſſured of the protection of the biſhop of Burgos, preſident of the Indies, enabled him to gratify his ambition and reſentment: whence he reſolved to puniſh Cortes as a rebel and deſerter, and to appropriate to himſelf the honour of conquering the Mexican empire. With theſe views he expended the greateſt part of his fortune in equipping a ſquadron, which conſiſted of 800 Spaniſh infantry, 80 horſe, 12 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of proviſions, arms, and ammunition. The command of this ſquadron he beſtowed upon Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of diſtinction and capacity; but vain, haughty, and opinionated; and to this perſon he gave the title of his Lieutenant, with private inſtructions to apprehend

hend Cortes, and ſend him over to Cuba in irons, together with his principal officers, in caſe they refuſed to abandon his intereſts.

While theſe preparations were making, the Monks of St. Geronimo, who preſided over the royal audience at St. Domingo, and whoſe juriſdiction extended over the other iſlands, were informed of his deſigns; and foreſeeing the ill conſequences that might attend them, ſent Lucas Velaſquez de Ayllon to perſuade Diego to deſiſt from his enterprize, and in caſe his arguments failed, to command him, under great penalties, to deſiſt from undertaking what might impede Cortes's meaſures.

This miniſter arriving in the iſland of Cuba when the fleet was juſt ready to ſail, uſed all his elocution and influence to divert Velaſquez from his purpoſe; but Velaſquez being deaf to all his remonſtrances, and elevated by the title he had acquired, to the greateſt degree of pride and inſolence, De Ayllon cauſed his orders and proteſt to be notified by a ſcrivener, and then diſſembling his reſentment, deſired to be allowed to gratify his curioſity, by accompanying the expedition. This requeſt was immediately granted, and De Ayllon embarked, in hopes of being able to act as mediator between Narvaez and Cortes, and thus prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from Velaſquez's reſentment. With the ſame view Andres de Duero, the ſecretary of Velaſquez, who had befriended Cortes in the beginning of his fortune, engaged in the expedition, and the ſquadron ſailing with a favourable wind, ſoon came to an anchor in the port of Ulua.

Narvaez, on his arrival on the coaſt of Mexico, ſent ſome ſoldiers on ſhore for intelligence, who ſoon returned with two or three Spaniards whom they found ſtraggling about, and from theſe he received an account of every thing that had happened at Vera Cruz and Mexico. Narvaez, upon receiving this intelligence, reſolved to endeavour to obtain the fortreſs

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him to the Mexican coaſt; gave him an account of the conqueſt; expatiated on the ill conſequences that would infallibly attend a miſunderſtanding among the Spaniards; reminded him of his duty to the king, and the friendſhip which had formerly ſubſiſted between them: deſired to know his orders, which, if they were from his majeſty, he promiſed to obey: but intimated the miſchief that would be produced, with reſpect to the king's intereſt, if he only intended to proſecute the unjuſt reſentment of Velaſquez, whom he had reſolved to give a ſhare in the glory and advantage of his ſucceſs: and concluded with telling Narvaez, that he did not uſe arguments for want of ſtrength, and that he knew how to maintain his own rights.

Narvaez had fixed his quarters at Zempoalla, where he was received with great hoſpitality by the fat cacique, who at firſt imagined, that he was come in order to aſſiſt his friend Cortes; but he was ſoon undeceived; for though Narvaez had no interpreters, his actions ſpoke but too plainly. He treated the Zempoallans in the moſt oppreſſive and imperious manner, ſeized the furniture and jewels which Cortes had left in his own houſe, and his ſoldiers were ſuffered to commit every act of rapine and violence.

Guevara, on his return from Mexico, waited upon him, and expatiated on the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from Cortes, the aſtoniſhing degree of favour he was in with Montezuma, and his great deſire to live in friendſhip with Narvaez; when that imperious officer interrupting him, bid him return to Cortes, by whoſe artifices he had been cajoled; and then, with the moſt ſhocking marks of rudeneſs and diſreſpect, thruſt him from his preſence. But though the prieſt was repulſed by Narvaez, he and his companions made a great impreſſion on the minds of the ſoldiers, to whom they extolled Cortes in ſuch a manner, as not only made them deſire an accommodation with that general; but

but inſpired them with a diſlike to their own commander.

Olmeda ſoon followed Guevara, and delivered Cortes's letter to Narvaez; but could ſcarce prevail upon him to peruſe the contents, which he however ſuperficially ſkimmed over, out of compliment to the function of the bearer: but fearing the influence of his perſuaſions among the ſoldiers, he ordered him to depart from Zempoalla immediately. De Ayllon had no better ſucceſs: and, in order to prevent any farther negociation, Narvaez ordered war to be declared againſt Cortes, as a rebel and traitor; aſſigning a conſiderable reward to any who ſhould take him dead or alive, and commanding the army to prepare for a march. De Ayllon, exaſperated at this inſtance of violence and irregularity, ordered the crier to deſiſt, and commanded Narvaez not to ſtir a foot from Zempoalla on pain of death, or to employ the forces without the unanimous conſent of the whole army. Upon which Narvaez ordered him to be apprehended, ſent on board a veſſel, and inſtantly tranſported to Cuba. At the ſame time de Olmedo ſet out on his return to Mexico, while the principal officers in Narvaez's army were ſhocked at his inſolence, and the inferior ſoldiers loudly murmured at his conduct.

De Olmedo, on his arrival at Mexico, informed Cortes of the implacability and intemperate behaviour of Narvaez; but encouraged him by mentioning the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers; upon which he immediately reſolved to take advantage of this favourable circumſtance: and the Spaniards at Mexico were no ſooner informed of his having taken this reſolution, than they expreſſed the utmoſt zeal and impatience to be in action; for notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, they had ſuch confidence in the valour, ability, and diſcretion of their general, that they thought it almoſt impoſſible for them not to conquer, when under his command.

Cortes was unwilling to damp their alacrity by any unneceſſary delay, and therefore repaired to Motezuma's apartment, in order to acquaint him with his intended march; but was not a little ſurpriſed, at hearing that prince begin the diſcourſe, and at his ſaying, that he had from different parts received information that the Spaniſh general at Zempoalla was come with very ill deſigns againſt him and his followers: and though he did not wonder that the two chiefs ſhould be at enmity from ſome private animoſity, he could not help thinking, that as they were the vaſſals of one prince, and headed armies of contrary factions, one of them muſt neceſſarily be a rebel to his ſovereign. Cortes was ſomewhat ſtartled at this declaration; but immediately availed himſelf of that preſence of mind, which never forſook him in his greateſt emergencies, and replied without heſitation, that the accounts received by his majeſty were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the ſame intelligence before him; but that Narvaez was not to be conſidered as a rebel, but rather as a perſon who proceeded upon wrong principles through miſtake: for he was come as lieutenant or ſubſtitute from a miſinformed governor, who reſided in a remote province, and was therefore unacquainted with the laſt reſolutions of the court of Spain: but that all this miſunderſtanding would vaniſh as ſoon as he ſhould lay his diſpatches before that lieutenant. He had therefore reſolved immediately to march with part of his forces to Zempoalla, in order to diſpoſe them to reſpect the ſubjects of the Mexican empire as a people under the king of Spain's protection.

Motezuma was much pleaſed with the proſpect of getting rid of ſuch diſagreeable viſitors, of whoſe exactions and acts of oppreſſion he was particularly informed: but imagining that Cortes might be expoſed to ſome danger, he offered to furniſh him with an army that ſhould be entirely under his command, and

repeated this offer with ſuch earneſtneſs, that Cortes was fully convinced of his ſincerity, though he declined accepting it, from his having but little confidence in the attachment of the Mexican ſoldiers to his intereſt.

Cortes reſolved upon leaving fourſcore Spaniards in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alverado, an excellent officer, who by his engaging behaviour had already required great ſhare of Motezuma's friendſhip. He gave him directions relating to his conduct, with reſpect to the emperor, and the ſoldiers were ordered to obey their captain, and ſerve Motezuma with the greateſt reſpect. Theſe precautions being taken, Cortes diſpatched a meſſenger to Gonzalo de Sandoval, with orders to intruſt the confederate Indians with the fortreſs of Vera Cruz, and to march out with the Spaniards to meet him at a certain place of rendezvous. He then having taken care to obtain the neceſſary ſupplies on the road, ſet out on his march.

At Matalequita, a town of Indian friends, Cortes was joined by Gonzalo de Sandoval and his troops, with ſeven ſoldiers from Narvaez's army, by whom he was informed of every thing that had paſſed in the enemy's quarters before they deſerted. He had alſo intelligence of a freſher date from two ſoldiers who had gone from Vera Cruz to Zempoalla in the diſguiſe of Indians, carrying baſkets of fruit, which they exchanged with the Spaniards for glaſs-beads, and other toys, and ſo dexterouſly aſſumed the ſimplicity of the natives, that they were permitted to range without the leaſt ſuſpicion, through every part of the quarters: they even ventured to repeat this viſit, and as a proof of the careleſsneſs with which Narvaez cauſed the watch to be kept, took from the very parade a horſe belonging to a captain who was one of Cortes's moſt bitter enemies.

Juan Velaſquez de Leon was ſent to uſe his influence with Narvaez, from the hopes that his being

related to Diego de Velaſquez would render his mediation the more acceptable; and on his approaching Zempoalla, Narvaez came with a grand retinue to meet him, ſuppoſing that he was come to join him; but had ſoon the mortification to find himſelf miſtaken. He however uſed many arguments to detach him from Cortes; and to render him an eye-witneſs of his ſuperior ſtrength, commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him. The next day he invited him to dinner; but in the midſt of their feſtivity ſome ſarcaſtic reflections were thrown out againſt Cortes, and though Juan de Velaſquez, to avoid prejudicing the buſineſs in which he was employed, diſſembled his reſentment; yet the abuſe thrown upon Cortes became ſo groſs and indecent, that Velaſquez being unable to reſtrain his indignation, cried with ſome warmth, that if any man in that company, who did not eſteem Hernando Cortes, and all his followers, as loyal ſubjects to the king of Spain, would let him know his ſentiments before fewer witneſſes, he would undeceive him in what manner ſoever he pleaſed. Narvaez was diſconcerted with this declaration; but a young officer of the name and family of Velaſquez, replied, that no man was worthy of bearing that name, who attempted to vindicate a traitor. At this reproach, Juan gave him the lie, and drew his ſword, in order to puniſh him for his inſolence, when the company interpoſed, but found it very difficult to prevent miſchief. However, Velaſquez was at length prevailed upon to ſheath his ſword, when abruptly leaving the company, he immediately returned to Cortes, breathing defiance and revenge.

This incident occaſioned ſuch murmurs among the officers and ſoldiers, that Narvaez, in order to put a ſtop to their clamours, was obliged to ſend a perſon to Cortes, to apologize for what had happened to Juan de Velaſquez, and to learn the ſubſtance of his commiſſion, which he had not fully explained. For this purpoſe he ſent the ſecretary Andres de Duero, who

who met Cortes on his march to an advantageous poſt, which he intended to occupy till the arrival of the Chinantlans. Duero and Cortes embraced each other like two intimate friends who had met after a long ſeparation; and an interview with Narvaez was propoſed, to which Cortes immediately agreeing, the ſecretary returned to Zempoalla, where he alſo obtained the conſent of Narvaez. But after the time and place were appointed where they were to meet with only ten friends on each ſide, Cortes received private advice from Duero, that Narvaez had reſolved to lay an ambuſcade for his life, which being confirmed by others, he wrote to his treacherous enemy to let him know, that he was acquainted with his deſigns, and to reproach him with his baſeneſs. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he continued his march, and took his ſtation within a league of Zempoalla, where his front was defended by a river, and his rear by the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz.

Narvaez being informed of this diſpoſition, drew up his army, cauſed war to be declared at the head of his troops, with the offer of a reward of 2000 pieces of eight to any perſon who ſhould bring him Cortes's head; and alſo ſet a price upon the lives of Gonzalo de Sandoval and Juan Velaſquez de Leon. He then marched to an open field at about a quarter of a league's diſtance, vainly hoping that Cortes would leave his advantageous ſituation, to engage an enemy who had three times as many men as himſelf. But Cortes taking advantage of the diſcontent of his antagoniſt's ſoldiers, fatigued by a ſudden ſtorm which drove them back to Zempoalla; attacked and defeated them with his veterans; received the vanquiſhed into his ſervice, and by his admirable conduct found himſelf in a few hours at the head of above 1000 Spaniards. He had a fleet of eleven ſhips and ſeven brigantines at his diſpoſal; and he had the pleaſure of ſeeing the laſt effort of Diego de Velaſquez entirely fruſtrated.

But notwithſtanding his good fortune he could not be eaſy, when he reflected upon Alverado's ſituation, ſince he knew him to be encompaſſed with enemies, and at the mercy of a prince who might be perſuaded to ſacrifice him and his few troops for the advantage of the empire. He therefore reſolved to return to Mexico, and that neither Motezuma nor his people might be offended at his returning with ſuch a numerous body, he propoſed to divide his army, and employ the greateſt part of it in other conqueſts.

While Cortes was taking theſe meaſures, a letter from Alverado occaſioned an alteration in his ſcheme. By this letter he was informed, that though Motezuma had never once attempted to leave the quarters, the Mexicans had taken up arms, and unleſs he and his men were immediately ſuccoured, they muſt all inevitably periſh. And what was ſtill more extraordinary, the ſoldier who brought this letter, was accompanied by an ambaſſador from Motezuma, who preſſed Cortes to return as ſoon as poſſible, and aſſured him, that though his own life ſhould be at ſtake, he would never abandon Alverado.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes began his march with 1000 foot and 100 horſe; the army taking different routs, in order to be the more eaſily ſupplied with proviſions. They rendezvouſed near Tlaſcala, at which city they were received with great joy and affection. That republic ſtimulated him againſt the Mexicans, and offered to aſſemble all their troops for his ſervice. He, however, declined the offer, and contented himſelf with taking a body of 2000 men.

Cortes paſſed the cauſeway without the leaſt oppoſition, notwithſtanding his perceiving many marks of the fury of the Mexicans. For his two brigantines were ſtaved to pieces, and half burnt. On his entering Mexico, the ſuburbs were abandoned; the bridges, by which the ſtreets had a communication with each other, were broken down, and a profound

ſilence

ſilence reigned over the city. Theſe ſuſpicious ſymptoms made Cortes order the infantry to ſlacken their pace, while the cavalry marched before to reconnoitre: but the Spaniards who had been left in the city, ſoon diſcovering the army, raiſed a great ſhout, and removed his apprehenſions. Pedro de Alverado with his people received them at the gate of his quarters, in a tranſport of joy, and Motezuma himſelf went to the outward court to meet Cortes, whom he embraced with all the marks of a ſincere affection.

Cortes having taken proper meaſures for the ſecurity of the troops, retired with Alverado, to inquire into the cauſe of that ſedition among the Mexicans; when that officer informed him, that ſoon after his departure a conſpiracy was concerted againſt the Spaniards, in which it was agreed to aſſemble the inhabitants under the pretence of celebrating annual dances called Mitates, when the nobles were to harangue the populace, and immediately proceed to the Spaniſh quarters, in order to extirpate the inſolent ſtrangers, who kept their emperor priſoner, and treated even their gods with contempt.

On the morning preceding the day appointed, ſome of the chief perſons in this ſedition, came to deſire Alverado's permiſſion to celebrate their feſtival. However he was that very night informed that they were very buſy in concealing conſiderable quantities of arms in houſes near the temple; upon which he reſolved to anticipate the execution of their ſcheme, by attacking them before they ſhould have time either to take arms, or to raiſe the populace. This ill-judged ſcheme he put in execution. He left the fort with his 50 under the pretence of ſeeing the diverſion; and perceiving the Mexicans intoxicated with liquor, attacked and diſperſed them without oppoſition; many of them being killed and wounded in their flight. The Spaniards ſtripped them of their jewels and other ornaments; after which Alverado retired,

retired, without taking the neceſſary ſtep of acquainting the people, with his motives for committing an action, which was naturally imputed to avarice. The people incenſed at ſeeing the nobility ſlaughtered and pillaged before their eyes, now ran to arms, and raiſed a formidable inſurrection. They had ſeveral times attacked the Spaniſh quarters, and being ſo ſucceſsful as to kill three or four Spaniards, their courage was raiſed to ſuch an height, that inſtead of dreading the reſentment of Cortes, and his troops, which were ſo greatly increaſed; they retired to another part of the town, leaving the entrance open, that by giving the Spaniards an opportunity of being united, they might ſurround and deſtroy them at once.

Cortes cenſured Alverado very ſeverely for his raſhneſs, and made him ſo ſenſible of his indiſcretion, that he deſired to be impriſoned, in order to facilitate the reduction of the inraged multitude.

The Mexicans made no attempt that night; but the ſame myſterious ſilence prevailing the next morning, Cortes ordered Diego de Ordas to march through the principal ſtreets, at the head of 400 Spaniſh and Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, and if poſſible to penetrate into their deſigns. But Diego had not proceeded far, when he was all at once oppoſed by an innumerable multitude, who ran boldly up to his front, while another army, which had been concealed in the ſtreets, attacked him in the rear: at the ſame time all the terraces and windows on each ſide were crowded with armed men, who ſhowered upon them an infinite number of arrows, darts and ſtones. Diego endeavoured to make his retreat, though he was obliged to cut his way ſword in hand. In this engagement he left ſeven ſoldiers dead upon the ſpot, and both himſelf and the greateſt part of his men wounded. The Mexicans followed him with inconceivable fury, till they were terrified and driven back by the artillery from the Spaniſh quarters, which made a dreadful

dreadful ſlaughter. They however halted within ſight, and the ſtreets were ſoon filled again with armed men, whoſe drums and ſhells ſounding the ſignal for an aſſault, they advanced with prodigious impetuoſity. They advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to cut in pieces, with inſtruments edged with flint; and others made ladders of their pikes and lances, in order to ſcale the walls. They were however at laſt repulſed, when they retired for cover to the croſs-ſtreets, where they ſtaid till the approach of night, and then raiſed another terrible alarm, by beginning a very different kind of fight; for by ſhooting fire-arrows into the quarters, they produced a dreadful conflagration in ſeveral parts of the building, which forced the Spaniards to break down walls, to prevent the communication of the flames, and then to labour the greateſt part of the night in repairing the breaches they had made, in order to put themſelves again in a poſture of defence.

The next morning the enemy appeared at a diſtance; and though afraid of advancing within cannon ſhot, challenged the Spaniards to come to battle with many injurious reproaches. Cortes, who had reſolved to make a ſally, took this opportunity to inflame the minds of his ſoldiers with a ſhort ſpeech; and finding them impatient of delay, divided his whole force into three battalions; two of which were directed to clear the croſs ſtreets, while he himſelf took the large ſtreet, where the greateſt body of the enemy was poſted. The Mexicans ſtood the firſt charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with their clubs and two-handed ſwords, which they wielded with incredible fury; nor could the fire-arms put a ſtop to the ſhowers of ſtones and javelins that were thrown from the windows and balconies, till fire was ſet to ſome of the houſes. The Mexicans however at laſt gave way; but as they retreated, broke down the bridges of the ſtreets, which

which obliged the Spaniards to fill up the canals, before they could proſecute the victory. The loſs of the enemy was ſo great, that the dead bodies lay in heaps, and the canals of the city was tinged with blood. Cortes, who had loſt ten or twelve men in this action, did not chuſe to continue a purſuit, but allotted three days for the refreſhment of his troops; during which he renewed his overtures of peace, by means of ſome Mexicans, who were in Motezuma's ſervice: but at the ſame time continued to obſerve the ſtricteſt vigilance and precaution; and, among other ſtratagems, contrived four wooden towers to run upon wheels, each of which was capable of containing twenty or thirty men, who might ſet houſes on fire, and deſtroy the barricados raiſed in the principal ſtreets. Having finiſhed theſe machines, he made a ſecond ſally with the principal part of the Spaniards, together with the whole body of Tlaſcalans, who had fought with great bravery in the laſt engagement. He alſo took ſome pieces of artillery, the wooden towers, and a few led horſes, that were to be uſed occaſionally.

The Mexicans were now commanded by the principal nobles, who had greatly augmented the army, and waited for the Spaniards in profound ſilence; but the latter had no ſooner begun their march, than they were ſuddenly ſurpriſed with the hoarſe and diſagreeble ſound of their ſea-ſhells and drums, added to the ſhouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unuſual regularity, and amazing reſolution, giving and receiving the firſt charges without being diſordered. When they were forced to give way, they retired leiſurely, without turning their backs, and renewed the fight at every canal or barricado, with ſuch obſtinacy, that they were not to be diſlodged without the artillery. From the windows, balconies, and terraces, large ſtones and fragments of rocks, provided for that purpoſe, were hurled, by which the moving towers were ſoon

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ſhattered to pieces: and, in ſhort, the battle was fought with ſuch method and alacrity, as plainly proved that it was conducted by a general in chief.

The engagement continued the greateſt part of the day; and night drawing on before Cortes had made much progreſs, he retired to his quarters, with the loſs of 40 men, who were chiefly Tlaſcalans; and with 50 Spaniards much wounded, he himſelf receiving a ſhot with an arrow in his left hand. He now began ſeriouſly to reflect, that notwithſtanding all the advantages he had obtained over the Mexicans, his numbers, in a ſeries of ſuch victories, would be greatly diminiſhed; and that in caſe of a general revolt againſt Motezuma, they might eaſily ſtarve him in his quarters: nor was the emperor himſelf under leſs uneaſineſs. From the higheſt turret of the palace he had obſerved the battle, and could eaſily diſtinguiſh the cacique of Iztapalapa, and other nobles, who might aſpire to the empire. He dreaded the loſs of his crown; and being ſenſible that he could never reſtore his ſubjects to obedience, while the Spaniards remained at Mexico, he ſent for Cortes the next morning, told him his ſentiments, and intreated him to leave the city, that he might return to his own palace, reſume the reins of government, and quell the ſeditions of his people.

Cortes readily conſented to this propoſal, and reſolved to retire for the preſent; that he might have leiſure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better proſpect of ſucceſs: but his conference with the emperor was interrupted, by his being told that the enemy was advancing with great fury, to make a general attack upon the quarters. They ruſhed on with prodigious impetuoſity, and in ſpite of the havock made among them by the artillery and ſmall arms, behaved with ſuch bravery, that ſome of them got over the walls; which obliged Cortes to form a body of reſerve in the principal court, whence he occaſionally ſent detachments to

ſupport

ſupport ſuch as were hard preſſed or fatigued with action.

While the aſſault was thus carrying on with amazing vigour, Motezuma propoſed to ſhow himſelf to the people from the wall, in order to command the populace to retire; and order the nobles to come unarmed into his preſence, that he might take proper meaſures to redreſs their grievances. This motion being approved by Cortes, the emperor immediately adorned himſelf with the enſigns of royalty, and then mounted the terrace, with the principal Mexicans who continued in his ſervice; one of whom, advancing to the rails, called with a loud voice, that the great Motezuma had condeſcended to come forth and redreſs their grievances. His name was no ſooner mentioned, than the out-cries of the people ceaſed, and they ſtood ſilent and motionleſs, as if awed by ſomething ſupernatural; and when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themſelves to the earth. He looked around him with a majeſtic air, and diſtinguiſhing the nobles in the crowd, deſired them ſeverally by name to approach; thanked them for the zeal and affection they had ſhewed in his ſervice, and repreſented to the people that they were actuated by a principle of miſtaken loyalty; that his reſiding among the Spaniards was not the effect of compulſion; that he was reſolved to diſmiſs them from his court, and therefore deſired his ſubjects to lay down their arms.

This condeſcenſion made ſuch an impreſſion upon the hearers, who had been uſed to obey him with fear and trembling, that many wept to ſee the emperor ſo humbled; and the reſt hung down their heads, and ſtood in ſilence and ſuſpence. But theſe favourable diſpoſitions were ſoon changed. Some of the emiſſaries belonging to a cacique, who hoped to ſucceed Motezuma, upbraiding the prince with being a coward, a priſoner, and a ſlave, raiſed a clamour among the people; and inſtantly turned their com-

compaſſion into ſuch a rage, that they curſed him, and uttered the moſt opprobrious invectives. The motions he made with his hand and head were now diſregarded; and his efforts to ſpeak rendered ineffectual, by their repeated ſhouts, till at length they let fly a ſhower of arrows againſt him. The ſoldiers being near him, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers; but in ſpite of all their care, he was wounded in ſeveral places, and received a terrible blow upon one of his temples, which brought him to the ground. Cortes having cauſed him to be carried to his apartment, reſolved to be revenged on the authors of this misfortune. But he then could find no enemy on whom he could wreak his revenge; for the emperor no ſooner fell, than the Mexicans, ſtruck with horror and conſternation, inſtantly fled.

Motezuma had ſcarcely recovered his ſenſes, when he became frantic with rage; imprecated the moſt dreadful curſes upon his rebellious ſubjects; and refuſed to liſten to the remonſtrances and conſolations of Cortes, who in vain endeavoured to comfort him. He tore the bandages and plaiſters from his wounds, and even attempted to put an end to his life; which made it neceſſary to reſtrain him by force; and then he abſolutely refuſed to take any manner of ſuſtenance. The wound in his head was very dangerous; and the agitation of his mind ſoon rendered it mortal. Cortes joined with father Bartholomew de Olmedo in perſuading him to renounce his idolatry; but all their arguments were to no purpoſe: and he expired, after having conjured the general to revenge his death.

Motezuma's unhappy fate filled Cortes with great concern. He was now obliged to form a new plan, and to quit all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of Mexico. The firſt ſtep he took, was appointing ſix of Motezuma's principal attendants, ſome of whom were prieſts, to carry

out his body to the rebels; with orders to tell the princes who headed them, that he had ſent them the corpſe of their late ſovereign, whom they themſelves had murdered; and who, before his death, had earneſtly conjured him to revenge his wrongs, and chaſtiſe them for their abominable rebellion. But as he imagined the inſurrection was not approved by the nobles, he once more propoſed peace, and was ready to agree to any reaſonable conditions: but ſhould they neglect his propoſal, as his reſpect for Motezuma could no longer moderate his reſentment, he would lay waſte their city with fire and ſword.

The bearers of the corpſe were met at a ſmall diſtance from the quarters by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms, and followed their deceaſed ſovereign with the moſt profound reverence and reſpect. The city was inſtantly filled with lamentations; and though another emperor was already elected, they teſtified their repentance by the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of ſorrow, running about the ſtreets in clamorous tumults till the next morning, when they conveyed the body to the mountain of Chapultepeque, where it was interred with great ſolemnity.

Thus fell the great Motezuma, the moſt powerful emperor that had ever filled the Mexican throne. He had reigned ſeventeen years; was the eleventh in the number of emperors, and the ſecond of that name. He left four ſons, and three daughters; two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were afterwards killed by the Mexicans in Cortes's retreat. The daughters afterwards embraced the chriſtian religion, and were married to Spaniards: But the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his deſcendants was one of Motezuma's ſons, who at his baptiſm took the name of Don Pedro de Motezuma, and received many favours from his Catholic majeſty, who gave him conſiderable poſſeſſions in New Spain, with

with the title of count of Motezuma, which his poſterity ſtill enjoy.

No attempt was made upon the Spaniſh quarters while the emperor remained ill of his wounds, which Cortes attributed to their being filled with horror at the thoughts of the crime they had committed; but it was all owing to the nobility being wholly employed in the inauguration of Quilavaca, cacique of Iztapalapa, whom they raiſed to the throne.

The Mexicans, inſtead of liſtening to the propoſal made by Motezuma's ſervants, renewed the war with greater vigour than ever; and on the morning that ſucceeded the late emperor's funeral, all the ſtreets were, by break of day, filled with armed men. They had alſo put a ſtrong garriſon in the towers of the temple which commanded part of the Spaniſh quarters. This important poſt, which was defended by 500 choſen men of the nobility, Cortes reſolved at all events to carry. He therefore drew the greateſt part of his ſtrength out of the quarters, and having formed ſeveral battalions, ſufficient to cut off all communication between the towers and the Indians in the ſtreets, he ordered captain Eſcobar, with a conſiderable detachment, to attack the temple, which was of difficult acceſs. That officer marched to the lower porch without oppoſition: but ſuddenly the defendants from the upper porch diſcharged ſuch a ſhower of lances, arrows, large ſtones, and half-burnt beams of timber, provided for that purpoſe, that the aſſailants were thrown into diſorder, and obliged to retreat in confuſion, after their having returned three times to the attack.

Mean while Cortes was at the head of a troop of horſe, buſily employed in ſupporting thoſe who moſt needed his aſſiſtance; but ſeeing Eſcobar defeated, he inſtantly quitted his horſe, cauſed a ſhield to be faſtened to his arm, on account of the wound in his hand; then flying to his aſſiſtance, advanced to the ſtairs with ſuch intrepidity, as inſpired his followers

with the ambition to imitate his example. In an inſtant the action was renewed with ſurprizing obſtinacy; and two Mexicans who had devoted their lives to the ſervice of their country, ſeeing Cortes upon a tower, threw down their arms, ran up to him, and ſtooping down like ſupplicants, ſeized him, and endeavoured to throw him over the rails: but after ſtruggling with them for ſome time, he had the good fortune to diſengage himſelf; upon which, they threw themſelves headlong from the tower, and their brains were daſhed out againſt the pavement. The Mexicans were at laſt obliged to retire from the continued fire of the Spaniards; and the general returned with his troops into the quarters, after they had made a dreadful havoc among the enemy, and burnt a conſiderable part of the city.

The next day the enemy deſired a parley; which being granted by Cortes, ſeveral of the nobles approached the walls, and in the name of the new emperor, propoſed that the Spaniards ſhould inſtantly march down to the ſea-ſide, and leave the country, upon which condition they promiſed to put an end to all hoſtilities: but obſerved, that ſhould he reject this propoſal, they muſt all inevitably periſh; for as they were now convinced by experience, that the Spaniards were mortal, they were reſolved to continue their attacks; and though the death of every Chriſtian ſhould coſt them 20,000 lives, they would have a number left ſufficient to rejoice at their ſucceſs.

To this Cortes replied, that the Spaniards did not pretend to be immortal, though they were ſo ſuperior to the Mexicans, that with his handful of men he could deſtroy the whole empire: but being moved by the calamities, they, through their obſtinacy, had ſuffered, he was reſolved to depart; and that he only waited till the neceſſary preparations were made for his march, and other articles agreed upon for the reciprocal advantage of both parties. The nobles

bles ſeemed pleaſed with this anſwer, though the overtures they had made were intended to anſwer a very different purpoſe. It had been agreed by the new emperor and his council, that inſtead of expoſing themſelves to ſuch terrible ſlaughter, as the people had always ſuffered from the artillery and fire-arms, they ſhould diſtreſs the Spaniards by famine; and amuſe them with negotiations, till being weakened and diſpirited by hunger, they might fall upon them to greater advantage. They recollected that Motezuma's three ſons and other perſons of diſtinction were priſoners in the Spaniſh quarters; but willingly devoted them as ſacrifices to the good of their country, except their chief prieſt, whom they reſolved, if poſſible, to deliver.

The deputies therefore returned the ſame evening with a propoſal, that ſome of the Mexican priſoners ſhould be ſent with inſtructions to the emperor; artfully hinting, that the moſt proper perſon would be a certain ancient prieſt, who being an intelligent man, would be able to remove whatever difficulties might be ſtarted. Cortes readily aſſented to the propoſal, and made the prieſt acquainted with his demands, in relation to the neceſſaries he ſhould want in his march; reſolving, if he ſhould return, to explain himſelf with reſpect to their laying down their arms and delivering hoſtages. But they had not the leaſt intention to ſend him back, or to come to an amicable agreement; which was very evident from their making trenches to defend the paſſage of the canals, breaking down the bridges of the principal cauſeway, and cutting off all communication with the road leading to Tlaſcala. Cortes was greatly alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately ordered a portable bridge to be made, ſtrong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and ſo light as to be carried by 40 ſoldiers.

Men were immediately employed in making this bridge; and at the ſame time Cortes aſſembled his

captains, in order to conſult whether they ſhould retreat by day or by night: for he was reſolved to retire to Tlaſcala, and there to take meaſures for laying ſiege to the city of Mexico. The majority of the officers propoſed a retreat by night, on account of the ſuperſtition of the Mexicans, which made it unuſual for them to engage an enemy after ſun-ſet; and from the difficulty of attacking them in the canoes in the dark. This was however warmly oppoſed by Cortes, and ſeveral others; but the queſtion being put to the vote, the majority declared for the firſt propoſal, to which Cortes aſſented; and it was reſolved, to give the enemy as little time as poſſible to form obſtructions, by beginning their march that very night. The carpenters had no ſooner finiſhed the bridge, which was to be moved from one opening in the cauſeway to another, than Cortes ſent another Mexican in order to amuſe the enemy with farther propoſals of peace, while he made the proper diſpoſitions for his retreat. The order of march being fixed, he cauſed the treaſure to be brought into his apartment, and taking one fifth for the king, in what was portable, he delivered it to the commiſſary with ſome wounded horſes for the carriage; but the remainder, which amounted to upwards of 700,000 pieces of eight, he propoſed to leave, as a dangerous incumbrance: but finding the ſoldiers unwilling to loſe their ſhare, he gave them leave to take what they could conveniently carry; in conſequence of which, ſome of the moſt avaritious, who were among thoſe who came with Narvaez, loaded themſelves ſo heavily, that they ſtaggered under their burdens.

Cortes having taken theſe previous ſteps, encouraged the ſoldiers by a ſhort ſpeech; and about midnight they began their march with great ſilence and circumſpection, being favoured by the wetneſs of the weather, and the darkneſs of the night. The bridge, which was carried in the front, was laid over

over the firſt canal before they met with the leaſt oppoſition; but the weight of the artillery and horſe jammed it ſo faſt, that they found it impracticable to remove it; and indeed they had no time to uſe much pains about it; for before the army had paſſed the firſt breach of the cauſeway, they were ſuddenly attacked on all ſides: for the enemy having obſerved their motions, had aſſembled their troops and canoes with ſuch expedition and ſilence, that the lake was covered on each ſide of the cauſeway. The attack began with great regularity; and had the Mexicans continued to preſerve the ſame good order during the engagement, Cortes and his whole army muſt have periſhed. But they ſoon returned to their uſual way of charging in confuſion, by which means many of the canoes were daſhed to pieces againſt each other, and the Spaniards made a dreadful ſlaughter. They were attacked in front by a vaſt number, who being impatient till they came to action, had thrown themſelves into the lake, and clambered up the cauſeway in order to diſpute the paſſage; but they were ſo crowded, that they had ſcarcely room to make uſe of their weapons: and the ſlaughter was, according to ſome authors, ſo great, as to ſupply a ſufficient number of bodies, to form a paſſage for the Spaniards in the lake. But other authors alledge, that the enemy left the beam of the ſecond bridge, on which the ſoldiers paſſed over in files, leading their horſes through the water by the bridles.

Cortes, on his reaching the ſhore, ordered the men to be formed as faſt as they arrived; and then returned to the cauſeway, entered into the engagement, and animated the men by his preſence and example. He cauſed each ſide of the cauſeway to be lined with ſoldiers, who were to repel the enemy, while the reſt marched between them in the centre; and to facilitate the march, he ordered the artillery to be thrown into the water: but notwithſtanding all his vigi-

lance, part of the rear-guard was cut in pieces, the bridge being deſtroyed by the Mexicans in the canoes before theſe unhappy men could paſs it, and theſe chiefly conſiſted of thoſe who had ſo overloaded themſelves with treaſure, that they were incapable of exerting themſelves in their own defence.

The army having paſſed over the lake by break of day, halted near Tobuca, to give time to thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle to join their friends; a precaution which ſaved the lives of ſeveral Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, who had ſwam aſhore, and concealed themſelves in ſome fields of maize till the morning. Theſe brought intelligence that the laſt diviſion of the rear guard was entirely cut off; and the troops being reviewed, their loſs was found to amount to about 200 Spaniards, above 1000 Tlaſcalans, and 46 horſes, with all the Mexican priſoners; who, in the darkneſs and confuſion of the night, were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The Spaniards were much dejected at finding how greatly their number was diminiſhed; at the loſs of their artillery, and at the apprehenſion of being every moment again aſſaulted, while they were oppreſſed with fatigue. Their affliction was increaſed by the loſs of ſome excellent officers, among whom was Juan Velaſquez de Leon, who brought up the rear.

Had the Spaniards been now attacked, before they had time to refreſh themſelves, and recover their ſpirits after the fatigue of the battle, they would in all probability have been eaſily deſtroyed: but an event which they conſidered as extremely unfortunate, prolonged their lives, by giving them time to repoſe. It has already been obſerved that all the Mexican priſoners were killed in the engagement; and in the morning when the enemy went to ſtrip the dead, they found three of Motezuma's ſons, whom they had killed with their arrows. At this ſpectacle they were amazed and ſtupified; the troops were ſeized with conſternation, and the news of this event

event ſoon reached the new emperor: he ordered the bodies of theſe unhappy princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their anceſtors, and all the inhabitants attending their funeral, afforded the Spaniards this ſeaſonable reſpite.

Mean while Cortes marched with great caution towards Tlaſcala, ſuſpecting that the enemy's delay proceeded from ſome deſign, which had been formed againſt him; and indeed the Spaniards had not proceeded far, before they obſerved ſeveral companies of armed men following the army at a diſtance. Theſe were ſome of the inhabitants of ſeveral cities whom the Mexicans had ordered to obſerve the motions of the Spaniards, and retard their march, till they themſelves had diſcharged their laſt duty to the ſons of Motezuma. At length the whole body of the Mexicans appeared, and joining the others, attacked the army with great impetuoſity. Cortes placed his fire-arms and croſs-bows in the front, and then ordered the horſe to advance and charge the Indians, which they did with great ſucceſs; but their enemies continually increaſing, the Spaniards were fatigued with killing them, and began to deſpair of their ever being able to rout ſuch a prodigious multitude: when Cortes perceiving an edifice with turrets on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, reſolved to gain that poſt, which he effected. As this building was a temple, that had a ſpacious court, encompaſſed by a wall and ſeveral towers, it was eaſily defended. The Spaniards here found ſhelter from the danger to which they had been expoſed; and on account of this ſignal relief, afterwards erected an hermitage on the ſpot, which is ſtill known by the name of *Neuſtra Sennora de Los Remedios*, or Our Lady of Relief.

The Mexicans approached near the walls; but having diſcharged a great number of arrows, retired toward Mexico: however the Spaniards perceived from the tops of the towers that they halted in the

the plain, where they divided into ſeveral bodies. The men were refreſhed with ſome proviſions they found in the temple, and with what the Indians had ſaved with their baggage, and had their wounds dreſſed, the linen horſe-cloths ſerving for lint and bandages. Theſe neceſſary taſks being performed, Cortes called a council of his officers, and propoſed, as this poſt could not be maintained for want of proviſions, and as they could not hope to make their retreat while ſurrounded by ſuch a multitude of the enemy, they ſhould ſeize this opportunity of continuing their march during the night, in order that they might be two or three leagues from the Mexicans the next morning. This propoſal being unanimouſly approved, ſome hours reſt were allotted for the refreſhment of the people, who were dreadfully fatigued; and at midnight they retired from the temple, leaving the fires burning, in order to deceive the enemy. After a march of four leagues, they came to a village advantageouſly ſituated, which was deſerted by its inhabitants, where they ſtaid two days till the wounded were again able to travel. They then marched two days through a rocky and barren country, at a diſtance from the great road; which they purpoſely avoided, being without ſhelter in the night, perpetually harraſſed by flying parties of Indians. In the laſt of theſe marches, they reached a village, where the inhabitants provided every thing for their entertainment with an air of frankneſs and hoſpitality; which was no more than an ill-judged ſtratagem, deſigned to lull the Spaniards into a careleſs ſecurity.

Early the next morning the army aſcended a mountain, on the other ſide of which was the valley of Otumba; when Marina obſerved, that the Indians who ſtill followed at a diſtance, ſhouted and frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants; you'll "ſoon arrive at the place where you will all periſh." Cortes took all poſſible precaution to prevent being ſur-

ſurprized: but on his reaching the top of the mountain, he found the paſſage of the troops effectually obſtructed by an immenſe multitude of armed men, who covered the extenſive plain of Otumba. Theſe were the Indians they encountered at the firſt temple, reinforced by a vaſt number of people from Mexico, with the principal nobles at their head, who had ſeparated into ſeveral bodies, and marched by different roads with ſuch expedition as to get the ſtart of the Spaniards, and unite in this ſpacious plain, where there was no danger of their being embarraſſed for want of room. The front of the army, which appeared from the diverſity of the colours and ſtandards, to be of different nations, extended along the whole breadth of the valley; but the eye could not reach the extremity of the rear. In the centre appeared the captain-general of the empire, borne in a ſumptuous chariot upon men's ſhoulders, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and ſee his orders punctually obeyed. Near him was the royal ſtandard of Mexico, which was a net of maſſy gold, faſtened to a pike, crowned with a plume of variegated feathers; and this ſtandard was never brought into the field, but upon the moſt extraordinary occaſions. Indeed this vaſt army, with the motions of their different weapons, and their feather waving in the wind, formed an appearance that was at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes having taken a view of this dreadful army, turned with alacrity to his ſoldiers, and told them that they muſt either conquer or die; but was immediately interrupted by his men, who called out, that he ſhould give the word and lead them to battle. He was unwilling to balk their ardour; and having ranged them in order, immediately advanced. The ſoldiers gave no ſtroke either with their lances or ſwords, but what was fatal. Cortes, reflecting that the ſtrength of his men muſt ſoon fail, recollected that he had heard among the Mexicans, that the whole

ſucceſs

ſucceſs of the battle depended upon the royal ſtandard; the loſing of which decided the fortune of the day. Upon which he inſtantly reſolved to make an extraordinary effort to obtain it; and commanded Sandoval Alverado de Olid, and Davila to follow and ſecure his rear, while he, with his troop of horſe, charged that part which appeared weakeſt and neareſt the centre. This troop trode down whole battalions, and ſoon cut their way to the place where the imperial ſtandard was defended by a guard compoſed of the nobles; when Cortes ſpurring his horſe through the midſt of them, wounded the captain-general, and threw him from his chariot with the firſt ſtroke of his lance: and Juan de Salamanca, a private gentleman, leaped from his horſe, diſpatched the general, and ſeizing the ſtandard, gave it into the hands of Cortes.

The Mexicans no ſooner beheld the imperial ſtandard in the power of the Spaniards, than they ſtruck all the reſt of their colours, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; while the victorious Spaniards made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, 20,000 Indians being ſaid to be killed in the battle and purſuit. The ſpoils which Cortes divided among the ſoldiers, were very conſiderable; for the Mexicans depending upon their number, which amounted to 200,000, came adorned with their beſt jewels, as to a certain triumph.

The Spaniards now purſued their march, but not without ſome ſuſpicion of being again attacked, as ſeveral bodies of men were ſeen on the tops of the mountains; but they proceeded without moleſtation, and the next day they entered the confines of Tlaſcala, when the whole army expreſſed their joy by loud acclamations, and the Tlaſcalans kiſſed the earth. At noon Cortes entered Gualipar, a conſiderable town, where he was received with great hoſpitality; and having quartered his troops there, he ſent two Tlaſcalans to the ſenate with an account of his

his retreat: but the meſſengers were ſcarcely diſmiſſed, when he was viſited by Magiſcatzin, Old Xicotencal, with his ſon, and others deputed by the ſenate, to compliment him upon his return. They propoſed his immediately proceeding to the city, where quarters were already provided for the Spaniards. But he choſe to remain in his preſent ſituation, till his people ſhould be refreſhed and intirely recovered from their fatigues, to which the Tlaſcalans the more readily aſſented, as this would give them time to prepare for his reception, and his entering the city in a ſolemn triumph.

The Spaniards were liberally ſupplied with neceſſaries at the expence of the public, during a ſtay of three days at Gualipar; when adorning themſelves with the plumes and jewels of the vanquiſhed Mexicans, they began their march for Tlaſcala, which they entered in July 1520. The ſenate in their richeſt robes came out with a numerous attendance to receive them; the fields were crowded with people; the air was filled with acclamations, and they were ſaluted at their entrance with the ſounds of flutes, drums and horns.

But in the midſt of this feſtival, a damp was given to the public joy by Cortes's illneſs. A wound he had received in his head broke out afreſh; he was ſeized with a dangerous fever, and his friends began to deſpair of his life. But the ſenate employing the moſt expert phyſicians in the country, he ſpeedily recovered.

Cortes now impatiently longed to know the ſtate of affairs at Vera Cruz, and therefore ſent a letter to the governor, by an Indian courier, who ſoon returned with an anſwer, that no alteration had yet happened in the garriſon or on the coaſt; and that Narvaez and Salvatiera were ſtill in ſafe cuſtody: but that a corporal and eight ſoldiers, who had been ſent to Tlaſcala for the gold belonging to the garriſon, were not returned; that it was reported among the

the Indians, that they were murdered in the province Tepeaca, and that it was feared the wounded ſoldiers belonging to Narvaez had met with the ſame fate; for being impatient to reach Mexico, which they conſidered as the centre of their wealth, they, as faſt as they recovered, had marched away from Zempoalla for that city. Indeed the truth of this report was now confirmed by the Tlaſcalans, who had hitherto concealed it from Cortes, leſt it ſhould retard his recovery; and he had the mortification to find himſelf thus deprived of a reinforcement of near 50 Spaniards, who had been deſtroyed by the Indians of Tepeaca. Cortes therefore reſolved to be revenged on that nation, which lay between him and Vera Cruz, and the Tlaſcalans promiſed to intereſt themſelves in the quarrel.

At this time ambaſſadors from the new emperor of Mexico arrived at Gualipar, whence they ſent to deſire leave of the ſenate to enter the city, with propoſals of peace; and this being granted with the conſent of Cortes, they made their public entry with great ſplendor and ſolemnity, and were received in the ſenate houſe; where they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance, on condition of their declaring war againſt the Spaniards, and aſſiſting them in their endeavours to extirpate thoſe ſtrangers. Their ſpeech was interrupted by the murmurs of the aſſembly, who were exaſperated at the propoſal. However they were permitted to retire to the lodgings aſſigned them, till the ſenate ſhould deliberate upon the ſubject of the embaſſy; when it was unanimouſly agreed to reject their propoſals. But the ambaſſadors did not wait for a formal diſmiſſion; for dreading leſt ſome popular inſurrection ſhould be raiſed againſt them, they fled with great precipitation.

Notwithſtanding the regard the Tlaſcalans upon this and other occaſions ſhewed for the Spaniards, Xicotencal ſtill hated and envied Cortes; and had hitherto diſguiſed theſe diſpoſitions under the maſque of

of friendſhip. Though he did not ſo much as ſpeak in the ſenate, in behalf of the Mexican propoſals, he took the opportunity of ſowing jealouſies among the people, by means of his friends; who privately magnified the advantages of an alliance with the Mexicans, and repreſented, with ſome truth, their friendſhip for the Spaniards as a dangerous connection, that would entail ſlavery and oppreſſion upon them and their poſterity. The ſenate were ſoon informed of theſe practices, and upon this occaſion held a conſultation; at which Xicotencal's father gave his opinion, that his ſon ſhould ſuffer death, as a ſower of ſedition: but out of reſpect to the gray hairs and character of the father, they only ordered him to be brought before them in chains; deprived him of all the honours he enjoyed, and cauſed him to be thrown down the ſtairs of the ſenate-houſe. A few days after this degradation, Xicotencal implored forgiveneſs of Cortes, who did not know of his crime till after the puniſhment was inflicted; and by his interpoſition, was reſtored to his former rank.

Xicotencal now endeavoured to atone for his fault by his diligence in aſſembling the troops of the republic. Mean while the ſoldiers who came with Narvaez, being diſguſted at the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, and intimidated at the thoughts of a new war, loudly exclaimed againſt the expedition to Tepeaca; and even delivered a formal proteſtation to Cortes, ſignifying their refuſal to undertake that enterprize, and their deſire to march immediately for Vera Cruz, where they might be nearer at hand to ſollicit reinforcements from St. Domingo and Jamaica.

Cortes was greatly provoked at this inſolent remonſtrance; but thought proper to diſguiſe his reſentment; and to repreſent to them, that as the Tepeacans had ſeized the paſſes of the mountains, it was impoſſible for them to reach Vera Cruz without fighting them, in which he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Tlaſcalan

calan troops, that were aſſembling for that purpoſe: but he aſſured them, that as ſoon as the Indians ſhould be ſubdued, they who were unwilling to follow his fortune, ſhould have free leave to depart.

Cortes having thus reconciled his troops to the ſervice, marched with 8000 choice Tlaſcalans, commanded by officers of diſtinguiſhed valour, and left the care of bringing up the reſt to Xicotencal. Having proceeded three leagues, they ſpent the night in a village abandoned by the enemy. The Tepeacans now took the field in order to ſtop their march, and formed an ambuſcade in ſome fields of maize; but being diſcovered by Cortes, when at a conſiderable diſtance, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion; and being deſerted by their Mexican allies, were totally routed, with the loſs of almoſt their whole army. They therefore the ſame night ſent deputies to implore the mercy of the conqueror.

The next day Cortes marched with his army into the city, where the inhabitants threw themſelves at his feet. But upon his ordering his interpreters to proclaim king Charles, and a general pardon in the name of that prince, their apprehenſions were converted into joy; and they entreated Cortes to take their city into his protection, that they might never more be influenced by the Mexicans to renounce their treaty with the Spaniards. Cortes inſtantly took advantage of this requeſt, fortified the city with paliſadoes and a trench; and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and ſecure the paſſage to Vera Cruz. But before this work was begun, he ſent all the priſoners who had been taken in the battle, to Tlaſcala; where, by his direction, they were publickly ſold for ſlaves.

Quilavaca, emperor of Mexico, dying about this time, the electors conferred the imperial dignity upon Quatimozin, ſon-in-law to Motezuma, a young prince of great ſagacity; who immediately encouraged the ſoldiers

ſoldiers with rewards and conſiderable privileges; treated his nobles with affability, and exempted his ſubjects from all tribute during the continuance of the war.

Cortes received an account of theſe tranſactions from ſome deputies from the cacique of Guacachula, a populous and warlike city, ſituated in the road to Mexico, who came to complain of the tyranny of the Mexicans, and to implore the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards againſt them. As Cortes made no doubt of this cacique's ſincerity, and thought it highly neceſſary to expel the enemy from ſuch an important place, he immediately formed a body of 30,000 Tlaſcalans, with 300 Spaniards, and 13 horſe, and the next morning ſent this army with the envoys of Guacachula, under the command of Chriſtoval de Olid, who was directed to repulſe the enemy, and take poſſeſſion of the town. They were joined on their march by ſome bodies of confederate Indians, who had been ill uſed by the Mexicans: and Cortes not long after arriving at the camp, proceeded with his new allies directly towards Guacachula. The Mexicans being informed of his motions, advanced between him and the city, and began the battle with great fury; when the cacique of Guacachula, taking advantage of this opportunity, fell ſuddenly upon the rear of the Mexicans, who in a little more than half an hour were entirely defeated. The Spaniards then entered the city, where they took up their quarters, while the Tlaſcalans and the other confederates, whoſe number was continually encreaſing, ſtaid without the wall; and many other caciques joining them, Cortes's army, ſoon after the battle, amounted to 120,000 men.

Cortes now reſolved to reduce Yzucan, a town naturally of great ſtrength; fortified with walls and ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garriſoned with 10,000 Mexicans, who had broke down the bridge in order to diſpute the paſſage. Notwith-

ſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, gained the oppoſite bank, and drove the the city; which they made a ſhew of defe the Spaniards had ſcarcely received orders tack, when the city was forſaken by the inhabitants. Some of the fugitives bei back, were inſtantly diſcharged, with th pardon and good treatment to all who ſh to their houſes; and this had ſuch an effe town was almoſt filled the ſame day. T tained in both theſe actions, Cortes diſtrib his new allies, and then returned with th to Tepeaca, where the fort and ſettleme compleated; to which he gave the nam de la Frontera.

A ſhip arrived about this time at St. Ju with thirteen Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſome pr ammunition, and two horſes, ſent by D laſquez to Narvaez; under the comma de Barba. He landed without diſtruſt, a ducted to Vera Cruz, where he readil Cortes's intereſt, and received the com company of croſs-bows.

Eight days after a ſecond ſhip arrive ſoldiers more, with arms and ammunition who commanded this veſſel, and his men into the ſervice of Cortes.

As the general was reſolved to make a to conquer Mexico, he formed the ſchem ing 12 or 13 brigantines that ſhould be the Indian canoes, in order to eſcape t paſſing the cauſeways: and theſe he prop in pieces on the ſhoulders of the Indian c the mountains of Tlaſcala, to a river in bourhood of the lake. This ſingular pr municated to Martin Lopez, who not on of the deſign, but undertook to execut utmoſt facility; and was therefore imm to Tlaſcala, with all the Spaniſh carpe number of Indians to cut wood. He

time employed many hands in extracting pitch from trees that grew upon the mountains, and ſent others to the volcano before-mentioned, from whence they brought a large quantity of ſulphur, which was made into gun-powder. Theſe previous ſteps being taken, Cortes ſet out for Tlaſcala.

It has been already obſerved, that Franciſco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had ſent to order Cortes not to make any ſettlement on this coaſt. But notwithſtanding the diſappointment he met with in having his meſſengers ſeized, he now reſumed the enterprize, and ſent three ſhips; but his ſoldiers had no ſooner landed, than they were attacked with ſuch fury, by the Indians, that they were obliged to return to their veſſels in great diſorder. His ſhips were afterwards ſeparated for ſome days, when each of them ſeverally formed the ſame deſign, and without knowing the ſentiments of each other, arrived almoſt at the ſame inſtant on the coaſt of Vera Cruz, in order to ſerve under Cortes. The firſt ſhip that made land had ſixty Spaniſh ſoldiers on board, and was commanded by Captain Camargo; the ſecond brought fifty men, and ſeven horſes, under the command of a brave and experienced officer, named Miguel Diaz de Cruz; and the third brought above forty ſoldiers, ten horſes, and great plenty of arms and proviſions, and was commanded by Captain Ramirez.

Theſe people took the road to Tlaſcala, and were received with joy by the general and his people: but notwithſtanding this acquiſition of ſtrength, the ſoldiers brought by Narvaez, were ſtill importunate for leave to return to the iſland of Cuba; and reminded Cortes of the promiſe he had made before they ſet out on the expedition to Tepeaca. He was now the more inclined to grant their requeſt, for his having received this reinforcement of men, whom he imagined would be more obedient to his command.

Cortes having directed Alverado to ſee theſe men embark, ſent orders to the confederates to get ready

to march on the firſt notice, and in the mean time reſolved to equip a veſſel, and ſend other agents to Spain, in order to forward the negotiations of Portocarrero, and Montejo, and to deſire them to ſend him an account of his intereſt at court, about which he was very anxious.

Cortes intruſted theſe diſpatches to the care of Diego de Ordaz, and Alonzo de Mendoza, who a few days after embarked for Spain, after their having received private inſtructions to conceal their commiſſion, till they ſhould find Cortes's father and the two agents, with whom they were to act in concert. To give the greater weight to their joint ſollicitations, they carried a ſecond preſent for his Majeſty, which conſiſted of gold and ſome curioſities. He at the ſame time diſpatched Alonzo Davila, and Franciſco Alvarez Chico, with letters to the regulars of St. Jerome, who preſided in the royal audience of St. Domingo, and had juriſdiction over all the iſlands, and new diſcoveries on the main land; intreating their ſpeedy aſſiſtance in promoting his ſucceſs, and the interpoſition of their authority in putting a ſtop to the proceedings of Velaſquez and Garay; and theſe fathers ſoon ſent him a favourable anſwer.

After a proſperous voyage, Ordaz and Mendoza arrived at Seville, where they found the commiſſioners of trade had expreſs orders from the biſhop of Burgos, to impriſon any one ſent from New Spain, and to ſeize the gold and other merchandiſe brought from thence. Leaving the preſent therefore in the hands of thoſe judges, they thought themſelves happy in eſcaping with their letters and diſpatches, and went in ſearch of Martin Cortes, and the two agents, who had been before ſent from Mexico. Theſe perſons they found at Medellin, and being afterward encouraged by Adriano the cardinal-regent, to whom they ſhewed Cortes's letters, entered a proſecution againſt the biſhop of Burgos in his own court, and obtained a verdict in their favour. This ſentence being

being laid before the emperor, who at this time was juſt returned from Germany, it was approved by his majeſty, and Hernando Cortes was declared a faithful ſubject; perpetual ſilence was ordered to be impoſed on Velaſquez, with reſpect to any pretenſions to the conqueſt of New Spain, and he was only allowed to ſue for the money he had expended in fitting out Cortes's fleet. Several marks of the royal favour were beſtowed on Martin Cortes, on account of his ſon's merit: ſome regulars were named for the converſion of the Indians, and a fleet was ordered to be ſpeedily fitted out, with a ſupply of men, ammunition and horſes.

Cortes in the mean time received another unexpected ſupply of thirteen Spaniſh ſoldiers, who came in order to ſeek their fortunes, in a veſſel that arrived at Vera Cruz. He therefore reſolved to begin his march, and as the troops of his allies were already aſſembled, he did not chooſe to wait till the brigantines were finiſhed.

This reſolution being taken, Cortes reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 540 ſoldiers, with 40 horſe, and nine pieces of artillery, that were brought on ſhore from the ſhips. This review was made with great oſtentation, in order to raiſe the admiration of the Indians, an innumerable concourſe of whom were aſſembled to ſee the ſpectacle. Xicotencal, at the head of 10,000 Tlaſcalans, complimented Cortes, by appearing in his gayeſt accoutrements, and performed the Indian exerciſe with equal pomp and agility. All his captains being adorned with variegated feathers, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips, they carried their two-handed ſwords under the left arm, with the point upwards, and each was attended by a page who bore his ſhield, on which was repreſented in figures his own warlike atchievements.

Cortes being ſenſible of the difficulty of governing an army compoſed of many different nations, without ſtrict diſcipline; formed ſeveral articles of war to be

his purſuit of that conqueſt, accuſing him of obſtinacy and raſhneſs. Finding that his fellow ſoldiers liſtened to his inſinuations, he expreſſed a deſire of relinquiſhing the enterprize, and returning to Cuba; but as it was impoſſible to do this without Cortes's conſent, he, after having ſufficiently ſounded his confederates, propoſed to them a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating the general and all his principal officers, except Franciſco Verdugo, who had married the ſiſter of Diego Velaſquez, and upon him they propoſed to confer the chief command, which would give a kind of ſanction to the mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the governor of Cuba: but as they knew Verdugo to be a man of honour, they durſt not acquaint him with their deſign.

The general having received this intelligence, went immediately with two alcaldes and ſome of his captains to Villafana's quarters, where he found him with three or four of his accomplices, and having put him in irons, and ordered every body to retire, while he examined him in private; he took out of the wretch's boſom a paper ſigned by all the conſpirators, in which he found ſome names that greatly increaſed his concern. But concealing the paper from his friends, he ordered the ſoldiers who were found with Villafana to be put into another priſon, and then withdrew, directing the officers of juſtice to proceed in his trial with all poſſible diſpatch, without taking notice of any of his accomplices: and Villafana being condemned to die, was the next morning ſeen hanging at the window of his own lodging, ſo that his guilt and puniſhment were made public at the ſame time. Cortes pretended that Villafana had ſwallowed a paper which he believed contained the names of the conſpirators; and then aſſembling his captains and ſoldiers, gave them a ſummary account of the deſign againſt his life, and the lives of many preſent; ſaid, that he thought himſelf happy in not knowing Villafana's accomplices, and entreated his friends to inquire whe-

filled a large plain, through which ran a river collected from the neighbouring hills, and over it was laid a ſmall wooden bridge, which was left as a decoy to the Spaniards, whom they intended to attack before they could form on the other ſide; but as Cortes advanced, their courage failed them, and they gradually retired from the paſs, till part of the Spaniards had croſſed the bridge, when 20 horſe, and a body of Tlaſcalans being detached to keep them in play, they fled with great precipitation, and took ſhelter among the rocks and mountains, whither Cortes did not think fit to purſue them.

On his approach to Tezeuco, he was met by ſome ambaſſadors from Cacumazin, the cacique of that place, requeſting admiſſion into the number of his allies, with many offers of ſervice. Though from ſome circumſtances theſe profeſſions were ſuſpected, yet Cortes thought it prudent to aſſent to his propoſals. When he arrived at the town, he found the gates open, and the cacique, with moſt of the inhabitants, fled: for by his ambaſſadors learning the ſtrength Cortes had with him, he was afraid of executing a ſcheme he had concerted of deſtroying him in the night while he ſtaid with him. Cortes was however waited on by the nobles, and a genteel youth, ſon of the cacique's elder brother, whom he had murdered to uſurp his poſſeſſions. Him Cortes inveſted with the ſovereignty, to the general joy of the people, who returned and made an alliance with the Spaniards, declaring the Mexicans enemies.

To facilitate his enterprize upon Mexico, and to employ his Indian allies, Cortes now reſolved to advance with part of his forces to the city of Iztapalapa, ſituated ſix leagues nearer Mexico, on the ſide of the cauſeway. He ſet out on this expedition, with 300 Spaniards, and 10,000 Tlaſcalans, leaving the military government of Tezeuco to Gonzalo de Sandoval. But they no ſooner came within ſight of Iztapalapa, than they were oppoſed by a body of 8000

Mexicans, who fought with great bravery, and then retired into the city, where, without ſtaying to defend the entrance, or ſhut up the gates, they threw themſelves into the lake, and ſuddenly diſappeared.

Cortes, finding that the gates were left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was entirely abandoned, and propoſed to take up his quarters there for the night; but it no ſooner began to grow dark, than the Spaniards perceived the canals overflow, and the water of the lake ruſhing with great impetuoſity from a number of ſluices, which obliged them to quit the place in the greateſt hurry to prevent the whole army being drowned.

Cortes was extremely mortified at the ſucceſs of this ſtratagem, and ſpent the night on a little riſing ground, where the troops ſuffered by the wetneſs of their cloaths and the coldneſs of the weather, and at day-break retreated towards Tezeuco, making his men march as faſt as poſſible, to keep them warm. But they had not advanced far, when ſeeing themſelves purſued by a vaſt multitude of the enemy, they were obliged to face about in order to ſuſtain their attack, which was very violent: the Mexicans, however, being ſoon repulſed with conſiderable loſs, the army reſumed their march.

While Cortes continued at Tezeuco, many of the neighbouring caciques came to enter into an alliance with him againſt the emperor of Mexico; and among others, deputies arrived in great haſte from the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt an army of Mexicans, that appeared upon the frontiers, in order to puniſh them for having entered into an alliance with the Spaniards. Cortes reſolving to grant them immediate aſſiſtance, detached Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Franciſco de Lugo, with 200 Spaniards, 15 horſe, and a body of Tlaſcalans. Theſe were attacked in their march by a body of Mexicans, who lay in ambuſcade; but they were defeated with much ſlaughter. Eight of the moſt

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conſiderable perſons in the army were taken priſoners, after which the Spaniards paſſed the night in the city of Chalco, where they were entertained with great hoſpitality: and as the Chalqueſe had long been at enmity with the Tlaſcalans, the Spaniſh captains ſeized this opportunity of propoſing a peace between the two nations, which was afterward confirmed by the ſenate of Tlaſcala.

Sandoval and Lugo, having thus happily terminated this expedition, returned to Tezeuco, when Cortes ordered the eight Mexican priſoners to be brought before him, and received them in the midſt of his captains with a look of great ſeverity. He told them that he would grant them both life and liberty, if they would promiſe him to inform their prince, that he was coming to demand ſatisfaction for their perfidiouſly attacking him in his retreat from Mexico, in direct oppoſition to the treaty which they themſelves had propoſed and confirmed; but principally to revenge Motezuma's death. He added, that his army being now augmented, he would in a ſhort time ſeek the emperor in the midſt of his court, and lay the city of Mexico in aſhes, unleſs he would ſue for a peace, which ſhould be granted on reaſonable terms. He then ordered the priſoners to be unchained, and to have a boat to carry them to Mexico by water; at which they threw themſelves at his feet, and promiſed not only to make the emperor acquainted with what he ſaid; but to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure an accommodation.

Martin Lopez about this time ſent word to Cortes that the brigantines were finiſhed, and that he would ſpeedily ſet forward with them, the republic of Tlaſcala having provided 10,000 carriers, and 2000 to relieve thoſe who ſhould be tired, beſides thoſe appointed to carry the proviſions and ammunition: but that he thought it adviſable to ſtay in the laſt town of the Tlaſcalans for a convoy of Spaniards, ſince it would not be ſafe to paſs through the Mexi-

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can territories with no other force than the Indian allies.

This news filled the army with joy, and Cortes immediately gave orders to Sandoval to march with 200 Spaniards, 15 horſe, and ſome companies of Tlaſcalans towards the territories of the republic, in order to conduct Lopez with his materials to Tezcuco. This officer accordingly ſet out, but halted at Zalepeque, a ſmall town that refuſed to ſubmit, and was the very place where the Spaniards were murdered in their way from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for which reaſon he had orders to chaſtiſe and reduce the inhabitants; but they no ſooner perceived the detachment than they fled to the mountains: when Sandoval entering the town, found written with charcoal upon a wall, *In this houſe the unhappy Juan Juſtina was taken, with many others of his companions:* and afterward they found in one of the temples the dried heads of the Spaniards.

This dreadful ſight filled the Spaniards with rage, and Sandoval reſolved to puniſh the inhabitants with the utmoſt rigour. At this inſtant ſeveral companies that had been detached in purſuit of the fugitives, returned with a great number of men, women, and children, after having killed upon the mountains all who refuſed to ſurrender. Theſe poor creatures, half dead with fear, implored the mercy of the Spaniards by their tears and outcries, and ſoon moved them to compaſſion. Sandoval privately deſired the officers to intercede in their behalf, that they might ſet the greater value upon their pardon, which he at length granted; and received the ſubmiſſion of the cacique and principal citizens, who afterward ſtrictly adhered to the Spaniards.

The remains of the murdered Spaniards being decently interred, Sandoval continued his march to the frontiers of Tlaſcala, where Martin Lopez received him with joy. He had with him a young officer called Chichemecal, who commanded the Tlaſcalan rein-

reinforcement, and had been with difficulty perſuaded to wait for the Spaniſh detachment, he being extremely deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt the Mexicans. On their approaching Tezeuco, they were met by Cortes and the cacique of that city, and made their entrance into it, amidſt the acclamations of the whole army, after which all the materials were ſeparately ſtored in a large workhouſe prepared for that purpoſe near the canals.

Cortes, being informed that the veſſels could not be finiſhed in leſs than 20 days, reſolved to engage in ſome enterprize, and therefore leaving the government of Tezeuco to Sandoval, put himſelf at the head of a detachment of 250 Spaniſh infantry, 20 horſe, and a numerous body of the nobles of Tezeuco; 15,000 Tlaſcalans, under the command of Chichemecal, and about 5000 commanded by Xicotencal; with which force he ſcoured the country between Tezeuco and Tacuba, the laſt town on the lake between that place and Mexico.

Cortes being ſenſible of the difficulty of reducing Tacuba, returned to Tezeuco, where he had the ſatisfaction of learning that a veſſel was arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with a great quantity of arms, and ammunition; with a perſon on board named Julian de Alderete, who came in the character of the king's treaſurer, and ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers of diſtinction, who inſtantly marched to Tlaſcala, where they obtained an eſcort which conducted them to Tezeuco.

The caciques of Chalco and Thumanalco ſending meſſengers to Cortes to deſire his aſſiſtance, againſt a powerful army of Mexicans, he ordered Sandoval to march with a body of forces to their relief; who overcame them in three different engagements. However, the emperor ordered a new army to march, over whom the Chalqueſes, after a deſperate action, obtained a compleat victory.

Cortes now reſolved to penetrate in perſon as far as Suchimilco, a town upon the lake, with a broad cauſeway,

way, which joined thoſe that led to Mexico, and this was a ſeaſonable relief to the Chalqueſes, who had diſcovered a new army of Mexicans on that ſide. The confederate caciques were already aſſembled in the city of Chalco, when Cortes unexpectedly arrived, and filled the city with joy and gratitude. That general being then told by the Indian ſcouts that the Mexicans had taken poſſeſſion of ſome almoſt inacceſſible mountains on the road to Suchimilco, marched directly to a town which he found deſerted by its inhabitants, and in which he ſpent the night. He was much haraſſed by the enemy, and had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with them by the way: but when he drew near the city, being joined by ſeveral bodies of the allies, he advanced toward the Mexicans who had halted without the walls, and fell upon them with ſuch reſolution as they were entering the gates, that he entered with the fugitives, and ordering ſome companies to force the barricadoes in the ſtreets on the right and left; he advanced to the principal avenues, where the enemy had their greateſt force. This he with ſome difficulty ſurmounted, and ruſhed forward into a multitude of the enemy, but inſtantly finding himſelf ſurrounded, and his retreat cut off, he ſupported himſelf for ſome time; till his horſe falling, he was in extreme danger, and nothing ſaved him, but the great deſire of the Mexicans to ſeize him alive for a preſent to the emperor; but before they could carry him off, Chriſtoval de Olea, a common ſoldier of diſtinguiſhed bravery, ſeeing his diſtreſs, and calling to ſome Tlaſcalans, who were fighting near him, put himſelf at their head, and forced his way to the place with ſuch reſolution, that he killed the Mexicans who had ſeized Cortes, and he having thus recovered his liberty, with only two ſlight wounds, puſhed the enemy ſo rigorouſly, that they fled to that part of the city which was built in the water, and left the Spaniards maſters of all the ſtreets upon the firm land.

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The troops without the gates were in the mean while warmly attacked by a body of 10,000 Mexicans, who fought for ſome time with great obſtinacy, but were at length glad to return with conſiderable loſs.

This ſucceſs made Cortes maſter of all the ſtreets and buildings on the firm land; and having placed ſufficient guards by the water ſide, he ordered an officer and 20 or 30 ſoldiers to keep watch on the top of the principal temple. Near the cloſe of the evening they diſcovered about 2000 armed canoes advancing with great ſpeed from Mexico, upon which the guards at the landing places were immediately doubled; and in the morning about 15,000 of the enemy landed at a conſiderable diſtance from the city. Cortes immediately marched out and charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were routed at the firſt attack, and the whole action appeared rather a chace than a victory.

Cortes having continued four days at Suchimilco, retired in good order, with the ſatisfaction of having accompliſhed the end of his expedition, by taking a view of that city, and weakening the force of the enemy: he was, however, inwardly diſſatisfied at his having loſt nine or ten Spaniards in this expedition. For beſides thoſe who were killed in attempting to ſcale the mountains, three or four were taken alive, while they were pillaging one of the houſes at Suchimilco; and two of his ſervants fell into an ambuſcade, by imprudently ſeparating from the army.

Cortes had not been long returned to Tezeuco, when one of his veteran ſoldiers requeſted a private audience of him, with many indications of having ſomething of great moment to communicate; which being granted, he gave him all the particulars of a conſpiracy that had been formed in his abſence. The chief contriver of this treacherous deſign was a private ſoldier named Antonio de Villafana, who diſliking the enterprize againſt Mexico, blamed the general for his

ed as uſual; and the three captains entering the city much about the ſame time, fortified themſelves with the ruins of the houſes.

This new method of proceeding filled the Mexicans with conſternation, and entirely broke all their meaſures. A council was immediately ſummoned at Guatimozin's palace; where it was reſolved to diſlodge the Spaniards, and their army being divided into three bodies, advanced to the attack at break of day. But preparations having been made for their reception, they no ſooner approached, than the artillery began to play upon the avenues, and made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of the van-guard, that they durſt not proceed; when the Spaniards ruſhing upon them, they were ſoon routed and diſperſed, by which means they obtained better quarters for the enſuing night. The Spaniards that continued were obliged, as they advanced, to deſtroy houſes, level works, and fill up the trenches cut acroſs every ſtreet; and notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, all the three leaders in leſs than four days came in ſight of the principal ſquare in the city where they had agreed to meet.

The enemy perceiving the whole force of the Spaniards to be now united, ran with the utmoſt precipitation to defend the perſon of their prince; by which means Cortes had an opportunity of lodging his troops to the beſt advantage. The next morning all the ſtreets in poſſeſſion of the enemy were filled with armed men, in order to cover thoſe who were raiſing a kind of fortification: but as they did not proceed to hoſtilities, Cortes ſuſpended the attack he had meditated, and reſolved to try once more whether they were diſpoſed to an accommodation, now they ſaw him ſo advantageouſly poſted. He therefore ſent a meſſage to Guatimozin, who had retired with his miniſters and the nobility to a ſpacious angle of the city, the greateſt part of which was defended by the lake.

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A ſuſpenſion of arms being agreed upon, Guatimozin held ſeveral councils, to deliberate on the overtures of peace; and the majority were for agreeing to the treaty; while others were for continuing the war, who being joined by the prieſts, it was reſolved to proſecute it. In the mean time the emperor gave orders that all the piraguas and canoes ſhould retire to a bay, in order to ſecure his retreat in caſe he ſhould be driven to extremities. Cortes immediately ſuſpected their deſign, and therefore appointed Sandoval commander in chief of all the brigantines, with orders to ſurround the bay at a diſtance, and to keep a ſtrict watch upon the enemy's motions.

Cortes having taken theſe ſteps, advanced with his troops; which the Mexicans perceiving, prepared for an engagement. But they no ſooner obſerved the terrible havock made by the firſt diſcharge of the cannon on their wooden fortifications, than they ſent notice of it to Guatimozin, and in a little time demanded a parley: upon which, four Mexicans, who ſeemed perſons of diſtinction, appeared on the farther ſide of a ditch, and informed Cortes that they were appointed to receive his propoſals; but the general deſired that the emperor himſelf would come to treat in perſon, and in the mean time a ſtop ſhould be put to all acts of hoſtility. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors retired, and word was brought that the emperor would come the next day to conclude a treaty, but he put off his coming for ſeveral days.

However, the day being come, which was the utmoſt period allowed by Cortes, Sandoval diſcovered, before the ſun aroſe, great multitudes embarking on board the canoes in the bay; and theſe attacked the brigantines with great fury, without being terrified at the havock made among them by the artillery.

In the hotteſt part of the engagement Sandoval obſerved ſix or ſeven piraguas rowing with the utmoſt

ſpeed from the fartheſt part of the bay, upon which he ordered a brigantine to give them chaſe. The captain ſoon came up with the foremoſt piragua, which ſeemed to command the reſt, when the Mexicans inſtantly ceaſed rowing, and deſired him not to fire, becauſe the emperor was on board. The captain with other Spaniards immediately leaped into the piragua, to ſecure their prize. Upon which Guatimozin ſaid, "I am your priſoner, and ready to go "whither you think fit to conduct me. All the fa- "vour I have to aſk is, that ſome regard may be "paid to the honour of the empreſs my conſort, and "her female attendants." Guatimozin then paſſing into the brigantine, gave his hand to that princeſs to help her up the ſide. The captain had no ſooner made Guatimozin priſoner, than he diſpatched a canoe to Cortes with an account of his ſucceſs; and all military operations ceaſed ſoon after. This great event happened on the 13th of Auguſt, 1521, and from thence has been dated the dominion of the Spaniards over the Mexican empire.

Cortes thinking it was ſtill neceſſary to reduce that part of the city which was in the enemy's poſſeſſion, left the care of his priſoners to Sandoval, and went out to give orders for another attack. But Guatimozin ſuſpecting the cauſe of his abrupt departure, deſired to ſpeak with him; and upon his returning back, conjured him to ſpare his unhappy ſubjects, who would ſurrender peaceably as ſoon as they were informed of his captivity. He therefore intreated Cortes to allow one of his miniſters to accompany him, and command the Mexicans, in their prince's name, to obey the Spaniſh general, which order they no ſooner heard, than they threw down their arms and ſubmitted.

Cortes's troops no ſooner took poſſeſſion of the aces evacuated by the Mexicans, than they found emſelves ſurrounded with objects of horror; a vaſt mber of miſerable wretches, of the ſick and wound-

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ed, were lying calling upon death to releaſe them from their tortures. Whole houſes, and courts, were filled with the bodies of perſons of diſtinction who had been ſlain in battle, and were kept till their funerals could be performed; and from theſe places proceeded a ſtench that threatened the air with infection, and obliged Cortes to take immediate care to prevent a peſtilence by giving orders for interring the bodies. While this neceſſary office was performed, he retired with his priſoners to Cuyocan, after his having aſſigned quarters to Alverado and Sandoval, who ſuperintended the cleanſing of Mexico; and this diſagreeable duty being in a few days performed, he returned again to the city.

The reſpect with which the emperor Guatimozin was treated did not laſt long, for the ſoldiers remembering the vaſt quantities of gold they had formerly ſeen in Motezuma's poſſeſſion, demanded an account of what was become of it. When Cortes proteſting his ignorance, they ſuggeſted that he had ſecretly ſecured it for his own uſe. Hence they grew furious and inſolent; in which diſpoſition they were encouraged by Julian de Alderete, the king's treaſurer, who had great authority; and being nephew to the biſhop of Burgos, was inclined to do Cortes all the miſchief in his power. Alderete being unable to obtain any account of theſe treaſures, demanded that the emperor and his firſt miniſter ſhould be put into his hands, in order to be examined about them, which Cortes in his preſent circumſtances did not care to refuſe.

This inhuman monſter, according to ſome authors, cauſed them to be immediately put upon the rack; but as others with greater truth affirm, had them extended upon burning coals. When they were both in this ſituation, the miniſter caſting his eyes upon the emperor cried out violently; upon which Guatimozin with great compoſure ſaid, "Do you think I lie here upon roſes?" At which the poor man

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duct. Accordingly in 1528, he undertook that voyage, and was received by Charles V. with great reſpect; that prince gave him the whole vale of Atriſco, with the towns and villages upon it; conferred on him the title of Marquis of the vale of Guaxaca, and to compleat his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage.

The next year he returned to Mexico with his lady; but afterward being involved in ſome diſputes with the viceroy of Mexico, he, in the year 1542, made a ſecond voyage to Spain; where he died in a village near Seville, called Caſtilleja de la Cueſta, on the 2d of December, 1554, in the 63d year of his age; after which his corpſe, by his own direction, was carried to New Spain.

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THE DISCOVERY OF GOLDEN CASTILE.

AS we are now entering upon another curious, but affecting narrative, the conqueſt of Peru; it will be neceſſary to reſume the account of the diſcoveries and tranſactions of the Spaniards, with which we introduced the conqueſt of Mexico.

Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa, having eſtabliſhed himſelf in the government of Santa Maria, as has been already related; immediately contrived to make the beſt uſe of the great power he had obtained, in order to extend the diſcoveries, and acquire more gold: this he foreſaw would prove the only effectual means of ſecuring a continuance in that elevation, to which he had in ſo extraordinary a manner riſen.

His firſt care was to ſecure the needful ſupplies for the colony; and for this purpoſe he ſent his friend Valdivia to Hiſpaniola, to prevail on the governor and council to furniſh him and his people with all they wanted: and ſent his collegue Zamudio directly to Spain to inform the court of their ſituation, and of the great probability there was of their being able to make conſiderable diſcoveries and conqueſts. He gave Valdivia

Valdivia a conſiderable quantity of gold, which he deſired him to preſent to the king's treaſurer-general at St. Domingo, who had a great intereſt with the Spaniſh miniſtry.

At this time many Indians, under pretence of trafficking with the Spaniards, reſorted to Darien to obſerve whether they were going away, or what were their deſigns; and to induce them to be gone, perſuaded them that there was much gold and plenty of proviſions in the province of Coyba, which was at 30 leagues diſtance. Upon this Nunez de Balboa ſent Francis Pizarro with ſix men to diſcover the country; who having travelled three leagues up the river, were attacked by 400 Indians: but after a ſhort engagement, in which about 100 of the Indians were killed, the reſt were put to flight, and the Spaniards returned to Darien.

Nunez now ſent two brigantines for the Spaniards who had been left at Nombre de Dios. Theſe veſſels ſailing along the coaſt, reached a port belonging to the cacique of Coyba, where two Spaniards entirely naked and painted red came to them. Theſe and another perſon had a year and a half before made their eſcape from Nicueſſa's ſhip, to avoid the puniſhment due for ſome crime they had committed; and putting themſelves into the hands of the cacique Careta, were kindly treated: but not agreeing among themſelves, one of them, whoſe name was Juan Alonzo, dangerouſly wounded the other; whereupon the cacique admiring him for his bravery, made him commander of his forces, in a war in which he was then engaged, and would do nothing without his advice.

Theſe two men were highly acceptable to thoſe in the brigantines: they obſerved that the country abounded in gold; and that if Nunez would invade it, they ſhould all obtain great riches. Upon this advice it was agreed, that one of them ſhould go to Santa Maria, to inform Nunez of the ſtate of the

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country, and that the other ſhould ſtay to be ſerviceable as occaſion ſhould offer.

When the brigantines returned to Santa Maria, Nunez was much pleaſed with the intelligence they brought of this rich country, at his having Spaniſh interpreters, who underſtood the language of the natives; and having ſent back the brigantines, to bring away the reſt of the Spaniards from Nombre de Dios, (as they had been unable to take them all before) he choſe 130 of the braveſt of his men, who on the return of the brigantines, ſet out with a ſufficient ſupply of arms and proviſions in ſearch of the cacique Careta, who lived at 30 leagues diſtance.

This cacique not ſupplying them, Nunez took him and his family priſoners, and pillaged his town. But the cacique, to regain his liberty, promiſed all he required, and offered Nunez his daughter for a wife; who accepted her, kept her as a miſtreſs, and grew very fond of her.

Careta ſoon after informed his gueſts, that he had a neighbour, whoſe name, as well as that of his country, was Comagre: that he lived in greater ſplendor than any other cacique, and was very deſirous of being acquainted with the Spaniards. As the dominions of this prince were large and fruitful, Careta deſired Nunez to pay him a viſit, and offered to accompany him.

On their arrival at the palace of Comagre, they found that it was a large wooden building, 150 yards in length, and 80 in breadth, ſurrounded with a good ſtone wall. The reception they met with was equally kind and hoſpitable; Comagre and his ſons diſcovering, in their converſation, a knowledge and politeneſs, much ſuperior to any of the Indians they had hitherto met with.

Comagre's eldeſt ſon, being particularly deſirous of obliging his gueſts, cauſed ſeveral pieces of gold, that were valuable both for their workmanſhip and fineneſs, to be brought; and this gold, which weigh-

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ed about 4000 pieces of eight, with 70 ſlaves, he gave to Nunez and Colmenares, who immediately began to weigh it, in order to ſet apart the fifth of the gold for the king, and to divide the reſt among themſelves: but ſome of the men quarrelling about the beſt and largeſt pieces, the young prince ran to the ſcales, and ſtriking them with his double fiſt, threw all the gold upon the ground; ſaying, that they need not fall out about ſuch a trifle: but if they were ſo fond of it as to diſturb peaceable nations, and leave their native country to obtain it, he would ſhew them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could wiſh; but that there muſt be a greater number of them, as they were to oppoſe a monarch who defended his dominions with great bravery. This was the firſt intimation given them of the extenſive country of Peru; whither he offered to accompany them.

After a ſhort ſtay in the dominions of Comagre, Nunez de Balboa returned to his government of Santa Maria, in order to conſider at his leiſure of the propereſt means of making theſe important diſcoveries.

Valdivia had by this time returned from Hiſpaniola, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that Diego Columbus would give him ſufficient ſupport. This induced Nunez to ſend him over a ſecond time; but the veſſel, in attempting to ſail back to Hiſpaniola, was unfortunately ſhipwrecked in her paſſage on the coaſt of Yucatan, and the men were quickly ſurrounded and made priſoners by the natives, who cruelly ſacrificed them to their idols: two only eſcaping, one of whom was that Aguilar, who was of ſuch great uſe to Cortes.

Nunez Balboa was greatly afflicted at the news of this event; and to prevent the ill conſequence that might ariſe from it, had ſome thoughts of going to Spain: but this the colony would not ſuffer, and he had ſoon ſufficient reaſon to believe that they judged right; for by the diſpatches he received from Zamudio he was informed, that Enciſo had ſo incenſed

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the court againſt him, that there was no perſuading the miniſters, that he was not a villain, who had in the higheſt degree trampled upon the royal authority.

Nunez de Balboa, having conſidered the contents of theſe letters, plainly ſaw, that nothing could reſtore his character in Spain, but making immediate uſe of the informations he had received, by perfecting his diſcoveries of larger and richer countries than hitherto the Spaniards had been acquainted with. This he judged would cover all his paſt faults, and atone for every irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the colony any of the particulars contained in his diſpatches, he perſuaded them to engage in ſuch an expedition, as the moſt likely means of rendering them all rich and happy: upon which they gladly embraced this propoſal.

On this plan they ſailed from Santa Maria about the middle of September, 1513, as far as the territories of the cacique Careta, who received Nunez in a very friendly manner. He there left one of his brigantines and a canoe, and advanced toward the mountains belonging to Ponca, attended by a body of Careta's ſubjects. The cacique Ponca being ſoon informed of the approach of the Spaniards, hid himſelf; when Nunez ſent ſome of the Indians belonging to Careta to aſſure him that he had nothing to fear, and that he only deſired his friendſhip: upon which Ponca came to meet him with a preſent of gold, to the value of 110 peſos, which was all he had. Nunez being ſenſible of the neceſſity of leaving no enemy behind him, received the cacique with much joy; and gave him abundance of beads, hawk's-bells, looking-glaſſes; and what theſe Indians moſt valued, ſome iron axes: and then aſked him for guides, and men to carry burdens up the mountains.

The cacique readily granted all he deſired; and having ſupplied him with plenty of proviſions, the Spaniards marched into the dominions of the great lord named Quarequa, who was prepared to oppoſe them. The Indians met the Spaniards, aſking what they came for, and ordering them to proceed no farther; but obſerving that they paid little regard to what they ſaid, the cacique himſelf came forward, cloathed in cotton, with ſome of his principal men, all the reſt being entirely naked, and immediately attacked the Spaniards with dreadful cries. Nunez inſtantly ordered his ſoldiers to diſcharge their firelocks and croſs-bows, upon which ſome dropped down dead: when the Indians ſeeing the fire, and hearing the report, naturally concluded that the Spaniards uſed thunder and lightning, and had a ſupernatural power to deſtroy them; and therefore fled in the utmoſt conſternation. The Spaniards purſued, ſetting their dogs upon them, which tore ſome of them in pieces, while the Spaniards made a great ſlaughter with their ſwords. In this engagement the cacique himſelf was killed, with about 600 of his people; ſome were taken, and the town was plundered, in which the conquerors found a conſiderable quantity of gold.

As ſome of the Spaniards were now grown ſickly with hunger and fatigue, Nunez left them in the town, which belonged to the late cacique, where he took freſh guides, and men to carry burdens, diſmiſſing thoſe who belonged to Careta. He then proceeded toward the top of the mountains, which was at the diſtance of about ſix days journey; but in this progreſs he ſpent twenty-five, on account of the ruggedneſs of the way, and the difficulty of procuring proviſions. At length Nunez having notice given him, that they were near the ſummit, he commanded his men to halt, and going up alone ſaw the South Sea; which he no ſooner viewed, than falling on his knees, he returned thanks to heaven for being the

firſt who had ſeen it. This done, he called his men, and again falling on his knees, they followed his example, while the Indians ſtood amazed at ſeeing ſuch expreſſions of joy and wonder. Nunez then extolled the intelligence given him by Comagre's ſon, promiſing his men wealth and happineſs: they believed all he ſaid; for he was extremely beloved, on account of his bravery, his compaſſion for the ſick and wounded, and his making no difference between himſelf and the meaneſt ſoldier. He then cauſed a certificate to be drawn of his taking poſſeſſion of that ſea, and every thing in it, for the crown of Caſtile; in teſtimony of which he cut down timber, erected croſſes, raiſed heaps of ſtones, and cut the king of Spain's name on ſome of the trees. This being done, he reſolved to go down the mountains to the ſea coaſt.

On their reaching the ſhore, the Spaniſh commander marched on, armed as he was, till the water took him up to the middle; and then cauſed a notary to draw up an inſtrument, importing that he had taken poſſeſſion of that ſea, its coaſts, and the iſlands in it, in behalf of the crown of Caſtile; at which ceremony the Indians were very juſtly amazed.

Nunez Balboa at length obſerving a large bay of the ſea, reſolved to navigate it; and therefore deſired the Indians to furniſh him with canoes, which they did, and offered to accompany him, though they at the ſame time adviſed him to ſuſpend this attempt, as the rains were coming on, and the bay was far from being ſafe; but he obſtinately refuſed to comply with this advice, and embarked with fourſcore Spaniards, together with Chiapes, a principal man among the Indians, and ſome of his attendants, on board nine canoes.

They weighed anchor on the 29th of September, for which reaſon he called it St. Michael's Bay; but when they were at ſome diſtance from the land, the waves began to ſwell ſo high, that Nunez repented

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appearance of reaſon, that the ſignal ſervices he had performed, rendered it impoſſible for the miniſters to deny that he had made amends for any indiſcretions into which he had fallen. He therefore reſolved to ſend another agent to Spain with the king's money, and with more conſiderable preſents than it was in his power to ſend by the former: On this important meſſage he ſent Pedro Abolanchos, a perſon of capacity, and what was ſtill of greater conſequence, of unſhaken integrity and fidelity.

On this perſon's arrival at court, he applied himſelf to the famous biſhop of Burgos, who received his letters with civility; which changed into the greateſt kindneſs and friendſhip, upon his ſeeing the pearls and gold ſent him by Nunez: for theſe fully convinced him of his innocence, and of his being a good and faithful officer. He therefore took great pains to vindicate him to king Ferdinand, who had hitherto a great averſion to Nunez de Balboa: but the favours of this prelate came too late; for he himſelf had already done this unhappy man ſuch an injury, as he was unable to repair. It was a maxim with this biſhop, that nothing was ſo dangerous, as ſuffering the great men who made diſcoveries in America to perfect them; and therefore, as ſoon as they had opened the road to the new countries, and had overcome the firſt, which are always the greateſt difficulties, it was his conſtant method to ſend ſome of his own creatures to reap the fruits of their labours.

Before the arrival of Nunez's agent, he had choſen Pedro Arias d' Avila governor of Caſtillo del Oro; whom the Spaniſh writers, by joining his two firſt names, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a man of birth, and of a court education; but proud, haughty, inſincere, barbarous and unjuſt; cruel beyond expreſſion: and one who thought the only compenſation that could be made for leaving his native country, was his raiſing a vaſt fortune. We have his character drawn to the life, by the hand of the humane

mane and worthy biſhop of Chiapa, who repreſents him as the wickedeſt monſter that was ever ſent into thoſe parts.

This new governor ſailed from Spain, on the 12th of April 1514, with a fleet of fifteen ſail; on board of which were 2000 ſoldiers, a fryar, John de Quevedo, who, before his departure, had been conſecrated biſhop of Darien; with many other perſons in great offices: among whom was Enciſo, the mortal enemy of Nunez, who was Pedrarias's provoſt marſhal. This fleet arrived in the gulph of Uraba, in the latter end of July, and from thence proceeded to Santa Maria, where the commander was received with all imaginary reſpect by Nunez de Balboa.

Pedrarias was very much ſurprized at the late governor's appearance, and at the ſtate in which he found the colony. There was indeed a very ſtrong fort, and 450 brave fellows to defend it; but Nunez's houſe conſiſted but of three rooms, and his dreſs correſponded with his dwelling: he had a pair of canvaſs drawers, and a cotton waiſtcoat over his ſhirt, and that was all. His diet was of a piece with the reſt; for a joint of roaſt pork, ſome greens and fruit, were all his table afforded: at which no other liquor was drank than good ſpring water. Such were the manners of this conqueror, who fared no better than the meaneſt of his ſoldiers; but there was no murmuring, no complaints: he maintained his authority by the means he acquired it, that is, by his merit, while his ſoldiers loved and feared him as a father. His only fault was his ambition, that had led him to do ſome unwarrantable things, in order to obtain power; but when he had once acquired it, none uſed it better. His accounts were clear; he made good every point he had written to Spain, and proved that he had opened a paſſage to the South Seas: in return for which good ſervices, Pedrarias committed him cloſe priſoner to the cuſtody of Enciſo, and did not

ſet him at liberty, till he had fined him in above half his fortune.

In order to juſtify this proceeding, he ſent over a very falſe report to the court of Spain, expecting that this would have procured him authority for going greater lengths; but he was miſtaken. He had brought over ſome honeſt men with him, who ventured to ſend the naked truth to court, and it met with all the credit it deſerved.

In anſwer to theſe repreſentations, Pedrarias received freſh advices from his majeſty, in which the king declared, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of Nunez de Balboa, and had created him lord-lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas: that his majeſty expected that the governor ſhould take his advice; and that the meaſure of his obedience to his royal orders would appear from the reſpect he ſhewed to Nunez de Balboa. Pedrarias equally diſpleaſed and diſappointed, took care to conceal his inſtructions; and, like a true courtier, reſolved in appearance to conform to his maſter's orders, but in effect to diſobey them, and to leave no means untried to procure the deſtruction of the man he hated.

In order to leſſen the character of his predeceſſor and to raiſe his own, Pedrarias ſent ſeveral of his officers to make excurſions into the country, which he thought muſt produce new diſcoveries, as indeed they did; but theſe were neither to the advantage of the colony, nor to the crown of Spain, ſince they only contributed to ſhew the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards in the moſt glaring light. His officers knew that the only method to obtain his favour and protection, was to make him large preſents, and to plunder all the caciques without mercy; ſo that in a few months time, that reputation for honeſty and kind uſage, which Nunez de Balboa had been at ſome pains to eſtabliſh, was entirely loſt, and a war between

tween them and the natives broke out afreſh with greater fury than ever; ſo that there were no great hopes of his making any progreſs: which when he came ſeriouſly to conſider, he entered upon a new ſcheme; and by the aſſiſtance of biſhop Quevedo became reconciled to Nunez, who very ſincerely applied himſelf as formerly to the public ſervice, and that with his uſual ſucceſs.

This, however, only ſerved to raiſe the envy of Pedrarias, even though he had promiſed to give Nunez his daughter, and publickly called and treated him as his ſon. He had employed him in raiſing a town, eſtabliſhing a fort, and building ſhips on the South Seas: all which, with incredible labour and fatigue, he at length accompliſhed; and this added to the great reputation he had before acquired. Pedrarias ſeeing this, and finding that moſt of the people in this government were inclined to remove, and ſettle in the town built by Nunez de Balboa, as ſoon as it ſhould be finiſhed; reſolved no longer to delay removing out of the way a man, whoſe ſuperiority became more and more conſpicuous. For this purpoſe he ſent for him to Santa Maria, and commenced a freſh proſecution againſt him, on the ſame pretences for which he had fined him before; to which he had added another very extraordinary accuſation, a treaſonable intention to uſurp the king's domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the governor's licence, ſome timber for erecting public edifices: and to the amazement of the colony, and the terror of the inhabitants, he upon this charge condemned him to ſuffer death; and actually cauſed this unfortunate gentleman to be publickly beheaded.

Such was the fate of Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa, who in the 42d year of his age ſuffered as a traitor for having ſerved his prince with too much zeal and fidelity. This happened in the year 1517, and in the third of Pedrarias's government. The royal audience at St. Domingo, however, condemned this

action as a downright murder; but Pedrarias does not ſeem to have been ever called to an account for it: but on the contrary was permitted to go on in the ſame baſe and barbarous track for many years together.

Having thus, at the expence of law and juſtice, freed himſelf from a man whom he at once both feared and hated, Pedrarias reſolved to ſettle a colony on the coaſt of the South Seas, though that place, from the heat and moiſture of the adjacent country, was very unwholſome; but it was a place commodious for trade, and very convenient for forming new diſcoveries. He there built a palace, and made it the ſeat of his government; which inducing others to chuſe it for the place of their reſidence, it ſoon increaſed in the number of its inhabitants, and was pretty well fortified.

This city, which received the name of Panama, is but of ſmall circumference, on account of a moraſs that incloſes it on one ſide; and the damps, which ariſe from the moraſs, render the place ſo very unhealthy, that there are few inhabitants, except traders, who generally ſtay there no longer than is neceſſary to acquire a a ſufficient fortune to enable them to leave it. The rivers in its neighbourhood afforded great quantities of gold when the city was firſt built; but neither wheat nor barley grow within its neighbourhood: however it is ſupplied with maize from Peru. Both the rivers and the ſea abound with fiſh; and near the houſes along the coaſt are vaſt quantities of cockles, on which account the Spaniards ſuppoſe Pedrarias choſe this ſpot, as they would be ſome ſupply in time of ſcarcity. In the rivers of this province are vaſt numbers of alligators of a monſtrous ſize, which have devoured many of the Spaniards and Indians.

But to return; though Pedrarias had a ſtrong deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf by doing ſomething great, yet in the ſpace of eight or nine years he did little

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or nothing; for his vices defeated his ſchemes, and rendered all his undertakings abortive. But by the grievous extortions he committed among the caciques who had ſubmitted to the Spaniards, and with the gold he forced from them, he maintained ſo great an intereſt at court; that notwithſtanding every enterprize in which he engaged was attended with loſs, yet every new project he ſent over was approved and applauded.

This was the more extraordinary, as no man ever met with more oppoſition than he did: for on the one hand, he was hated to the laſt degree by the Indians; for whoſe ſake the biſhop of Chiapa had the humanity to go in perſon to Madrid to ſolicit relief. The Spaniſh officers, who were uneaſy under his government, ſent home a true repreſentation of his conduct; which was ſuch as would have ruined the fortune of any other man. Beſide all this, he was upon very bad terms with the royal audience at St. Domingo; which was then, what it ſtill is, the ſupreme tribunal in the Weſt Indies: and the chief reaſon for removing the ſeat of his government from Santa Maria to Panama, was that he might be farther out of their reach.

However, about the beginning of the year 1526, the court of Spain, wearied with continual complaints againſt him, was at length reſolved to ſend him a ſucceſſor. Pedrarias was informed of this reſolution; and as he knew no means of avoiding his coming, and was very loth to part with his power, he began to caſt about in his mind where to find another eſtabliſhment. There was only one expedition under any of his creatures which had met with ſucceſs; and that was the conqueſt of Nicaragua by Francis Hernandez, who acted under his licence; and the governor had alſo been at ſome expence in fitting him out. He reſolved therefore to retire into this country, in order to ſecure it for himſelf, though it of

right belonged to him who had ſubdued it; and alſo to avoid delivering up his province to his ſucceſſor in perſon, for fear he ſhould treat him as he himſelf had done Nunez. One would have imagined, that when his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, he would have abated ſomewhat of his pride, or at leaſt of his cruelty: but whether he had no power over his temper, or knew that he had ſtill intereſt enough at court to prevent his being called to an account for murder, he committed one more baſe and barbarous, if poſſible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

On his entering the new province, he pretended that he had received information that his deputy intended to revolt; and therefore ſent for him to anſwer to the charge. Francis Hernandez came with that boldneſs which is natural to innocence; but Pedrarias no ſooner had him in his power, than he cauſed his head to be ſtruck off; alledging that there was no other way for a government to be ſafe againſt perſons in power, when their fidelity was once ſuſpected. Yet as black and heinous as this fact was, he not only eſcaped being called to an account for it, but was confirmed in his government of Nicaragua; as if avarice, injuſtice and cruelty, were qualities choſen by the court of Spain in perſons appointed to the management and proſecution of her concerns in America.

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THE Conqueſt of PERU, BY FRANCIS PIZARRO.

VASQUEZ Nunez de Balboa was the firſt Spaniard who formed the project of making diſcoveries on the South Sea; and the deſire of wreſting the execution out of his hands, the principal motive that induced Pedrarias to take away his life. But when all the expeditions undertaken by this cruel monſter had failed, three perſons in the year 1524 offered to engage in this undertaking at their own expence, provided they might be allowed fair and equitable terms. To this propoſal Pedrarias readily liſtened, believing that he ran no hazard in complying with their requeſt, ſince if they miſcarried he ſhould loſe nothing; and if they ſucceeded, he hoped that he ſhould be able to ſecure to himſelf the fruits of their enterprize.

The principal of theſe three perſons was Francis Pizarro, a native of Truxillo, in the province of Eſtremadura in Spain. Some of the Spaniſh writers ſay, he was a nobleman by birth; while others maintain, that he was the illegitimate ſon of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer at Truxillo, who ſuffered him to be expoſed as a foundling at a church-door. However, being diſcovered to be the father, he was obliged to ſupport

right belonged to him who had ſubdued it; and alſo to avoid delivering up his province to his ſucceſſor in perſon, for fear he ſhould treat him as he himſelf had done Nunez. One would have imagined, that when his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, he would have abated ſomewhat of his pride, or at leaſt of his cruelty: but whether he had no power over his temper, or knew that he had ſtill intereſt enough at court to prevent his being called to an account for murder, he committed one more baſe and barbarous, if poſſible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

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lar part in the conqueſt of Peru: Francis Pizarro was to command the party that went upon the diſcovery; Almagro was to carry him recruits, and to reinforce him from time to time; and Ferdinand de Luques was to ſtay at Panama, to provide ammunition and proviſions for the uſe of thoſe engaged in the expedition.

Theſe articles being agreed upon, they repaired ſolemnly to high maſs, which was celebrated by the prieſt Ferdinando de Luques; who having broke the wafer into three pieces, took the firſt himſelf, and gave the others to his companions, as a token that they would purſue their preſent project with no leſs eagerneſs, than if their eternal happineſs depended upon it. They took care to make the beſt inquiries they could into the cauſes of all former miſcarriages, in order the better to avoid them; and were very aſſiduous in finding out perſons who had been employed in the preceding expeditions, that they might reap the benefit of their experience.

About the middle of November 1524, Pizarro embarked in a new ſhip with 114 men, officers included, and proceeded to the iſland of Tabago, about five leagues diſtant from Panama; whence he ſailed to the Pearl Iſlands in the midſt of the bay, where he took in wood and water, with hay for four horſes he had on board. He then proceeding 100 leagues to the ſouthward, landed at Port Pinas, upon the continent, on the ſouth ſide of the bay of Panama. Here he endeavoured to penetrate into the country; but the people having fled from their habitations, and meeting with nothing but bogs and mountains, without any proſpect of proviſions, he proceeded farther down the coaſt; but finding there the ſame inconveniences, and perceiving the rainy ſeaſon coming on, and that many of his men died by ſickneſs, fatigue, and want of proviſions, he ſent the ſhip to the Iſle of Pearls, to procure freſh ſupplies.

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ſupport him; but giving him no manner of education, he made him ſpend his youth in the moſt ſervile offices, particularly in keeping his hogs. Young Pizarro, however, at length ran away from the herd; and entering on board a ſhip, bound to the Weſt Indies, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bold and enterpriſing diſpoſition in the wars of Hiſpaniola and Cuba, and obtained a commiſſion. He at length ſailed with Ojeda to the gulph of Darien, and afterward ſerved under Nunez de Balboa; and having acquired a handſome fortune, had, on the firſt building of Panama, ſettled in that city; where he ſeemed diſpoſed to ſpend the remainder of his life in peace, till the thirſt of gold incited him to engage in this undertaking, and afterward prompted him to commit actions that rendered him a diſgrace to human nature.

The ſecond of theſe adventurers was Diego de Almagro, who took his name from the place of his birth: for his origin was ſo obſcure, that no hiſtorian has been able to diſcover who was his father.

The third was Ferdinando de Luques, or as he is ſometimes called de Lugne; who, as well as both the former, was advanced in years. This man, who was a prieſt, had much the largeſt fortune: he was proprietor of the iſland Tabago, had a good eſtate beſide, and a conſiderable ſum in ready money.

This aſſociation made much noiſe, as nothing could be more ſingular than for three private men to raiſe a joint ſtock for conquering a great empire; and, like other projects, was treated as a wild and viſionary ſcheme, that would infallibly end in the ruin of the projectors. But without regarding the opinions of the world, they ſolemnly promiſed each other, that no dangers or diſappointments ſhould make them lay aſide their enterprize; and that they would make an equal diviſion of the wealth they ſhould acquire, after having firſt deducted the emperor's dues and all expences. To each of them was aſſigned a particular

great care was taken to prevent their ſending any letters. However, one of them found means to ſend a paper ſubſcribed by moſt of them, repreſenting their hardſhips, and deſiring to be recalled; which was ſo artfully incloſed in a bottom of cotton yarn, that it eſcaped the vigilance of the officers, and came ſafely to the hands of the new governor, (for Pedrarias was now removed from his government, and was ſucceeded by Pedro los Rios) who was ſo far from ſuffering Almagro to raiſe more recruits, that he ſent a ſhip with a commiſſary to the iſland of Gallo to bring back all the men who ſurvived.

The arrival of this ſhip greatly mortified Pizarro, who intreated the commiſſary to allow ſuch of the men to ſtay with him as voluntarily choſe it; which being granted, he drew a line with the point of his ſword, and haranguing his men, told them they were all at liberty, if they thought fit, to return to Panama: but he was grieved at the thought of their now abandoning ſo glorious a proſpect, when they were on the point of reaping the reward of all their ſufferings. That for his part, he would periſh in the glorious undertaking rather than deſert it; and thoſe who voluntarily ſtaid, ſhould ſhare with him the treaſures which fell into his hands. He then deſired thoſe who were willing to proceed, to come over the line he had drawn. But ſo great were the ſufferings of theſe poor people, that only thirteen men and a mulatto came over, while the reſt embarking with the commiſſary returned to Panama.

Pizarro's affairs were now in a moſt wretched ſituation; for he was not only deprived of the hopes of performing any thing remarkable at preſent, but had a very indifferent proſpect with reſpect to futurity. In this diſtreſs, which he concealed in his own breaſt, he retired with a few daring fellows, who reſolved to follow his deſperate fortune, to the iſland of Gorgona for a ſupply of water; and ſtaid there till he was joined by Almagro with a few volunteers, whom

Mean while Pizarro was joined by Almagro with two ſhips and 60 recruits, when notwithſtanding the unhealthineſs of the climate they continued on the coaſt, and had many ſkirmiſhes with the natives; in one of which Almagro loſt an eye: but happening in ſome of theſe excurſions to meet with gold to the value of 14 or 15000 crowns, they reſolved, in ſpite of all the hazards and difficulties they encountered, to proceed on the enterprize. To this they were encouraged by their pilot, who, while they were on ſhore, had run down as far as Cape Paſſare, under the equator, where he ſeized ſome priſoners, who made him ſenſible that the treaſures of Peru greatly ſurpaſſed whatever had been reported of them.

When the pilot returned with this agreeable news, he found Pizarro greatly reduced; his money being exhauſted, his men ſick, and Almagro gone to Panama with the gold they had taken, to procure another reinforcement of troops and proviſions.

Almagro raiſed 40 recruits, and having purchaſed ſome horſes, arms, clothes, proviſions and medicines, returned to Pizarro, where the greateſt part of his men being ſick or dead, they removed from that unhealthy part of the continent to the iſland of Gallo. Having ſtaid about 15 days here, they ran ſtill further to the ſouthward; but found the weather continue ſo bad, and the country ſo much under water, that Pizarro himſelf began to deſpair of ſucceſs; and ſo hot was the diſpute about continuing the enterpriſe, that the two commanders were on the point of drawing their ſwords: but at length it was agreed, that they ſhould return to the iſland of Gallo, where Pizarro was to remain with his men, till Almagro went to Panama for recruits. Many of the ſoldiers deſired to go with him; but this was abſolutely refuſed: and as ſeveral of the ſoldiers had threatened to complain to the governor, that ſending them on this expedition was devoting them to deſtruction,

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weighed from this place, leaving a Spaniard named Alphonſo de Molina, who had ſeparated from them on ſhore; but who ſoon after returning, came on board in one of the floats of that country, and told them that he had been entertained with great civility by a woman of diſtinction, who was very deſirous of ſeeing the ſhip. Soon after the ſame woman ſent other floats to pilot them into a ſafe part of the harbour; upon which Pizarro ſent Molina, with three other gentlemen, to invite this Peruvian lady on board; and ſhe coming, he treated her in the moſt elegant manner his circumſtances would admit. In return ſhe invited Pizarro on ſhore; and the next morning, at his landing, received him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his attendants to an arbour; where ſhe entertained him at dinner, and afterward with ſeveral Indian diverſions.

The Spaniards returning on board, ſailed back for Panama, where he arrived toward the end of the year 1527, with ſeveral large pieces of gold, three Indian boys whom he intended to educate for interpreters, and ſome Peruvian ſheep. Thoſe who had before ridiculed this expedition as abſurd and ruinous, now confeſſed their error, and were deſirous of partaking of its advantages: but Pizarro being oppoſed by the governor, who refuſed to allow his levying more men, and finding it neceſſary that he ſhould be ſupported by an authority ſuperior to his own; he, with the conſent of his partners, embarked for Old Spain to ſolicit the emperor's protection, and ſuch powers as were neceſſary for the proſecution of their ſchemes.

Arriving without any remarkable accident at Seville, Pizarro proceeded to the court of the emperor Charles V. where he met with a very gracious reception, on his preſenting his majeſty with ſome Peruvians in their proper habits, ſeveral gold and ſilver veſſels of the faſhion of the country, and two or three Peruvian ſheep. The emperor took great pleaſure

he had with ſome difficulty perſuaded to engage in this expedition.

With theſe men they left Gorgona, and ſailed along the coaſt till they found themſelves in 30° ſouth latitude, having ſpent about two years in a voyage which, now the current and trade-winds are known, is performed in as many weeks. In this paſſage, however, they took ſeveral Indian veſſels of conſiderable value, and obtained ſuch intelligence of the wealth of the coaſt, that Pizarro reſolved to ſend Pedro de Candia, a man of good ſenſe and agreeable addreſs, to penetrate as far as he could into Tumbez, in order to learn whether the informations he had received were true.

Pedro rendered himſelf agreeable to the Indians, and by his good conduct was enabled to execute his commiſſion in the compleateſt manner. He returned ſafe to Pizarro; aſſured him that the country exceeded all imagination; that the wealth and ſplendour of the people, and the grandeur of their public edifices were incredible; and that great art and ſkill were viſible in theſe ſtructures, which were ſo rich, that the very walls were covered with gold and ſilver.

Upon this report Pizarro called a council of his people; when, after much deliberation, it was reſolved to return to Panama, where being enabled to give an account of the prodigious advantages to be reaped from an expedition made in a proper manner to Peru, it was to be hoped they ſhould find people who were willing to embark in ſuch an advantageous undertaking, and obtain ſuch ſupplies as would inſure their ſucceſs.

However, ſailing a few leagues farther along the coaſt, they made Payta, to which Pizarro gave the name of Santa Cruz; and finding this one of the beſt harbours they had obſerved on the coaſt of Peru, they caſt anchor; and going aſhore, found the natives extremely civil, and willing to take the trifles they had to give them, in exchange for proviſions. They weighed

In this extremity they told Hueſcar, that if he did not immediately order his army to retire, they would cut off his head, after which they were determined to die upon the ſpot. At the ſame time they obſerved, that he need be under no apprehenſion from his confinement, ſince all Atabaliba required, was the permiſſion to enjoy his own kingdom of Quito, which being ſecured to him, he was too generous to detain him. On this Hueſcar ordered his principal officers to draw off their forces to Cuzco, where the incas kept their court; and this command was immediately obeyed.

When Pizarro entered Peru, things were in the ſituation above deſcribed. He was firſt ſolicited to aſſiſt Hueſcar; but anſwered in general terms that he was on his march to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed, and ſee juſtice impartially adminiſtred. He was afterwards honoured with a ſolemn embaſſy from Atabaliba, to deſire his alliance and friendſhip. Upon which he immediately reſolved to viſit that prince at Caxamalca, where he then was.

The Spaniards were ſoon after met by other ambaſſadors, who came to compliment Pizarro, and to preſent him, in the name of the inca, with a pair of gold buſkins richly ornamented, and bracelets of the ſame metal, ſet with emeralds, which he was deſired to put on, at his obtaining an audience of Atabaliba; who by ſeeing his own preſents, would eaſily know him. Theſe ambaſſadors alſo made him ſeveral other valuable preſents, and brought with them great plenty of proviſions, which were much wanted by the army.

The chief perſonage of this embaſſy was of the race of the incas, and behaved with great politeneſs; which the Spaniards attributed to fear, in which they were certainly right, though they did not ſtand in awe of them ſo much on account of their arms, as from a religious motive; for they ſuperſtitiouſly imagined that the Spaniards were the deſcendants of the ſun. They had an old tradition, which had been univerſally received

in hearing him relate the difficulties he had met with in his ſearch for Peru, and referred him to the council of the Indies; who ordered him to proceed in the conqueſt of that empire, as far as 200 leagues to the ſouthward of Tumbez, which is at the bottom of the bay of Guiaquil. He alſo obtained the titles of governor and captain-general, with the offices of adelantado, or lieutenant, and of alguazil-major or chief juſtice of Peru. This was directly contrary to his agreement with his partners; he having promiſed to obtain the ſecond of theſe titles for Almagro, and the laſt for his pilot, who had ſerved him with great fidelity and ſkill. However, he obtained for Ferdinando de Luques the title of protector-general of the Peruvians, with the emperor's promiſe of recommending him to the Pope, to be made biſhop of Tumbez; of which place Almagro was however nominated governor, with the title of Don; his baſtard ſon was legitimated; beſide, of the 13 men who remained with Pizarro in his diſtreſs on the iſland of Gallo, thoſe who were gentlemen, had the honour of knighthood, and ſuch as were not, were raiſed to the rank of gentlemen. Theſe commiſſions were granted at Toledo on the 26th of July 1528; and ſix Dominican friars were ordered to go over with Pizarro, as miſſionaries to aſſiſt in the converſion of the Peruvians: but though the emperor hoped to obtain conſiderable advantages from this expedition, he did not advance a ſingle piece of money for the ſervice.

Pizarro having thus ſettled the affairs which brought him to Spain, paid a viſit to Truxillo, the place of his birth, where he found that his father had been many years married to a woman of a good family, and had three ſons grown up to a man's eſtate, Ferdinand, Gonzalo, and Juan; and that his mother had been married to a farmer, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Francis Martin de Alcantara: theſe entered into his ſervice, and being greatly beloved in the neighbourhood, made great diſpatch in providing whatever he wanted.

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de Soto, and other adventurers, alſo arriving with troops from Nicaragua, he thought himſelf in a condition to carry on the war upon the continent; eſpecially as he had ſome reaſon to expect that he ſhould be ſupported by the Tumbezenes. Accordingly, having provided a ſufficient number of floats, he tranſported his troops to Tumbez; but loſt ſome of his men on his landing, ſome floats being overſet by the ſurf which beat upon the ſhore; and to his great ſurprize, ſeveral of his people were attacked and cut off by his ſuppoſed friends.

The Spaniſh writers have given different reaſons for this behaviour in the Tumbezenes: But whatever were the motives of their oppoſing the deſcent of theſe ſtrangers, they were thrown into ſuch confuſion by the Spaniſh horſe and artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanced; and after ſeveral thouſands of them had been ſlaughtered, were forced to abandon not only the city and caſtle, but even the whole valley of Tumbez, and to leave behind them all their gold and ſilver, and other rich ſpoils which lay heaped up in the temple of the ſun and the inca's palace. Theſe were of ſuch immenſe value, that the Spaniards could ſcarcely believe their eyes, on their finding them ſo ſuddenly in their poſſeſſion: and ſo great was the conſternation of the inca Atabaliba and his whole court, when the fugitives related the ſlaughter made by the thunderers, and the impoſſibility of eſcaping the Spaniſh horſes; that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not gods, as they at firſt conjectured, they were certainly devils; and that it was impoſſible for any human force to oppoſe them.

Pizarro ſoon received intelligence of the terror he had ſpread through the inca's court, of which he reſolved to take advantage as ſoon as poſſible. He, however, thought proper to defer his march, till he had erected a ſlight fortreſs, that might ſerve him as a place of retreat and ſecurity, and in which the recruits he expected might be quartered. He accordingly built one upon the ſea-coaſt, and gave it the

name

Charles V. the moſt potent emperor upon earth, to deliver him and his ſubjects from the tyranny of the devil, and to point out to him the right road to heaven. To this the inca, they ſuppoſed, made a pathetic reply, as he drew tears from the eyes of thoſe who underſtood him; and he concluded with telling them, that he would come the following day to hold a perſonal conference with their general. They could collect but little from his diſcourſe, and from the abſurd manner, in which their interpreter explained what the inca had ſaid, they had reaſon to believe that he had received a very imperfect explanation of Ferdinand Pizarro's oration.

Being informed of this intended viſit, Pizarro divided his cavalry, which amounted to 60 men, into three troops of 20 each, and poſted them behind an old wall, that their ſudden appearance might have the greater effect; and having put himſelf at the head of his infantry, which amounted to only 100 men, waited for the coming of Atabaliba, who advanced in regular order with his army, which was divided into four battalions conſiſting of 8000 men each; and as ſoon as they drew near, the inca addreſſing himſelf to his officers, ſaid, "Theſe people are meſſengers of "the gods, let us be ſeen to do nothing to offend "them; but on the contrary uſe our utmoſt endea-"vours to gain them by civilities."

As he approached, father Vincent de Valverda advanced from the Spaniards, carrying in one hand a croſs, and in the other his breviary. At his appearance, the inca ſeemed much ſurpriſed, but received him with great reſpect, and ordered a chair for him, when the father began a long diſcourſe which was tranſlated by the above wretched interpreter, while the inca liſtened very attentively to his harangue, in which he gave an account of the myſteries of the Chriſtian faith, the power of the pope, St. Peter's ſucceſſor, and the univerſal monarchy of the emperor Charles V. to which it was neceſſary that the inca ſhould

ſhould ſubmit, for otherwiſe God would harden his heart as he did Pharoah's, and then the Spaniards were to inflict upon him all the plagues of Egypt.

To the inca, who had never heard of theſe ſubjects, this diſſertation muſt have had all the appearance of nonſenſe; and was rendered ſtill more ridiculous by being delivered through a channel ſo deſpicable and barbarous as Pizarro's interpreter. However, the inca made ſome ſort of reply, which was interpreted ſo badly, that the prieſt knew no more of the emperor's meaning, than the emperor did of his. Thus a ſcene of confuſion immediately enſued, which was increaſed by a tumult cauſed by ſome Spaniards, who obſerving an Indian idol upon a tower, richly adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, their avarice would not ſuffer them to wait longer, and therefore they fell to plundering it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Indians, till the inca, whoſe command was to them equal to a divine law, cried out, That they ſhould do nothing to offend the children of the ſun.

Father Vincent hearing the noiſe of this tumult, turned about, and dropping his croſs and breviary, ran in haſte to appeaſe it, when ſome of the perfidious Spaniards perceiving the croſs trampled under foot, cried out, "An inſult on Chriſtianity," and inſtantly falling upon the Indians, committed a moſt dreadful ſlaughter; and the horſe ſuddenly appearing, bore down all before them; the poor Indians falling tame ſacrifices to their treachery, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Francis Pizarro at this inſtant putting himſelf at the head of the horſe, advanced in perſon to ſeize Atabaliba, and laying hold of his robe, dragged the inca from the chariot in which he ſat on the ſhoulders of his attendants. At which inſtant, one of the Spaniards attempting to ſtrike the emperor with his ſword, wounded Pizarro, which was all the Spaniſh blood ſpilt at this ſcene of cool, mercileſs ſlaughter. About 5000 Indians were inhumanly maſ-

maſſacred, without attempting to uſe the weapons they held in their hands; for they thought every command of the inca a part of their religion, and of the divine law, though it was attended with the loſs of their lives. Their principal attention was fixed upon their prince, and many of them died, while eagerly endeavouring to ſupport his chariot, to which the inca clung, while the cruel and treacherous Pizarro dragged him from it. This happened on the 3d of May 1533, a day kept ſacred by the Romiſh church, in honour of finding the croſs of Chriſt, after its having been many years buried.

When this horrid ſcene was over, Pizarro cauſed the inca to be conveyed to his own quarters, and directed that the ſpoils of the field ſhould be brought before him, which conſiſted of large gold and ſilver veſſels, fine garments, jewels and ornaments, belonging to the inca, the royal family, and great officers. There were alſo taken many of the women of quality, and ſome of the conſecrated virgins. That very day Pizarro impiouſly directed, that thankſgivings to God ſhould be offered upon the very ſpot where the earth was covered with the dead bodies of the poor Peruvians thus inhumanly murdered and plundered.

The next day Pizarro ſent a detachment of his forces to plunder the inca's camp; where he met with an immenſe quantity of riches, though the Peruvian generals are ſaid to have removed 3000 loads of gold and ſilver before the Spaniards arrived there. To induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their treaſures, Pizarro cauſed it to be proclaimed, that the inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and wait upon him as uſual. Upon which many of the generals and great officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their captive ſovereign. He alſo cauſed the inca's women to be brought to him, and ſuffered him to be ſerved in the ſame manner as before his misfortunes, though he kept him in fetters;

at which the inca could not forbear ſometimes ſhewing his reſentment.

Atabaliba, ſtill anxious for his liberty, and obſerving the inſatiable thirſt of the Spaniards after gold and ſilver, made them an offer of filling a large room in the caſtle of Caxamalca with theſe metals, as high as an ordinary man could reach his hand: a propoſal which amazed the Spaniards, and which they gladly accepted. For this purpoſe he deſired that ſome Spaniſh officers might be ſent with his own people to Cuzco, and other cities, to fetch the treaſures depoſited there; and at the ſame time iſſued his orders, that the Spaniards who were diſpatched to thoſe places ſhould be hoſpitably entertained in the countries through which they paſſed, and receive all the aſſiſtance his ſubjects could give them.

Almagro, in the mean while, having inliſted 150 men at Panama, had embarked with them for Peru, in order to reinforce Pizarro, but had been obliged by contrary winds to land at Cape Franciſco, where he was joined by another party of the Spaniards, who were going to ſhare Pizarro's fortune. His whole body now amounted to between 2 and 300; but having loſt by ſickneſs and fatigue 30 or 40 of his men, he at length arrived at the Spaniſh colony of St. Michael's, where he was informed that Pizarro had made the emperor Atabaliba priſoner, and had taken poſſeſſion of a vaſt treaſure. Fearing that he would refuſe him his dividend, he conſulted his officers, whether they ſhould not proceed in queſt of ſome new diſcovery independently of Pizarro: but a faithful account of this deliberation being privately diſpatched to Pizarro, by Almagro's ſecretary, he immediately ſent ſeveral very obliging meſſages to Almagro to aſſure him of his integrity, and to invite him to join him: at the ſame time he let him know, that there were ſome people who endeavoured to ſow diſcord between them, and intreated him to be on his

his guard; as that might end in the ruin of one or both of them, as well as the deſtruction of their enterprize. To ſupport this advice, he ſent him the letter he had received from the ſecretary, which Almagro no ſooner ſaw, than he cauſed him to be hanged.

Atabaliba's ſolicitude about his liberty, was much increaſed by the report of Almagro's arrival: for he wiſely judged, that the inſolence of the Spaniards would be augmented in proportion to their ſtrength. He therefore haſtened the bringing in the treaſure he had offered for his ranſom, that he might obtain his liberty before Pizarro was joined by Almagro. But another accident happened about the ſame time, which he apprehended might prove ſtill more fatal to him; for the Spaniſh officers who were ſent with his people to Cuzco, happening to paſs through the town, where Hueſcar his brother was confined in priſon, went to ſee him, and told him what Atabaliba had offered for his ranſom. That prince replied, that he had been unjuſtly depoſed by his brother, who had no right either to the empire or the treaſures he had promiſed; and that as he had heard one principal deſign of their coming was to relieve the diſtreſſed, he did not doubt but they would releaſe him from his captivity, and reſtore him to his throne, which he ſhould not only gratefully acknowledge, but would give them more treaſure than it was in the uſurper's power to beſtow: for his loyal ſubjects having buried moſt of their gold and ſilver on his being made priſoner, would readily produce it again, and pay it for his ranſom.

Pizarro's meſſengers liſtened to his overtures, and promiſed the inca that juſtice ſhould be done him; but, however, left that prince in priſon, and continued their journey to Cuzco. Mean while Atabaliba, being informed of theſe overtures, reſolved to put his brother to death: but reflecting that the Spaniards might make this a pretence for taking away his

ſhould ſubmit, for otherwiſe God would harden his heart as he did Pharoah's, and then the Spaniards were to inflict upon him all the plagues of Egypt.

To the inca, who had never heard of theſe ſubjects, this diſſertation muſt have had all the appearance of nonſenſe; and was rendered ſtill more ridiculous by being delivered through a channel ſo deſpicable and barbarous as Pizarro's interpreter. However, the inca made ſome ſort of reply, which was interpreted ſo badly, that the prieſt knew no more of the emperor's meaning, than the emperor did of his. Thus a ſcene of confuſion immediately enſued, which was increaſed by a tumult cauſed by ſome Spaniards, who obſerving an Indian idol upon a tower, richly adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, their avarice would not ſuffer them to wait longer, and therefore they fell to plundering it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Indians, till the inca, whoſe command was to them equal to a divine law, cried out, That they ſhould do nothing to offend the children of the ſun.

Father Vincent hearing the noiſe of this tumult, turned about, and dropping his croſs and breviary, ran in haſte to appeaſe it, when ſome of the perfidious Spaniards perceiving the croſs trampled under foot, cried out, "An inſult on Chriſtianity," and inſtantly falling upon the Indians, committed a moſt dreadful ſlaughter; and the horſe ſuddenly appearing, bore down all before them; the poor Indians falling tame ſacrifices to their treachery, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Francis Pizarro at this inſtant putting himſelf at the head of the horſe, advanced in perſon to ſeize Atabaliba, and laying hold of his robe, dragged the inca from the chariot in which he ſat on the ſhoulders of his attendants. At which inſtant, one of the Spaniards attempting to ſtrike the emperor with his ſword, wounded Pizarro, which was all the Spaniſh blood ſpilt at this ſcene of cool, mercileſs ſlaughter. About 5000 Indians were inhumanly maſ-

9000 crowns, beſide what was embezzled by the ſoldiers.

By this time Almagro was advanced into the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, Pizarro going out to meet him, received him with all poſſible marks of affection and eſteem, and offered him ſuch a ſhare in the ſpoils as made him perfectly eaſy. But his ſoldiers, who expected to divide the booty with thoſe who had ſerved under Pizarro, were ready to mutiny on their being told, that they were intitled to no part of it. They were however ſoon appeaſed by Pizarro agreeing to diſtribute 100,000 ducats among them. The reſt of the plunder, after the emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his officers and ſoldiers; and it is ſaid, that after he had reſerved the inca's golden chair for his own uſe, he diſtributed as much gold and ſilver plate among the ſoldiers, as amounted to above 1,500,000 crowns; which, conſidering the value of gold and ſilver at that time, was more than 15,000,000 of crowns now. But as large as this ſum appears in round numbers, it will yet be found more extraordinary and ſurprizing, if we conſider among how ſmall a number of men it was divided. It appears from good memoirs, that upon this diviſion, each horſeman had to his ſhare near 2000 ounces of gold, and the meaneſt ſoldier the value of 2000 l. ſterling.

Ferdinand Pizarro was now choſen as the fitteſt perſon to go to Europe, and wait on the emperor Charles V. with his ſhare of the treaſure; when about 60 of the private men inſiſted upon their diſcharge, that they might go home, and peaceably enjoy the wealth they had obtained. This was violently oppoſed by Almagro, and moſt of the council: however, Francis Pizarro over-ruled this oppoſition, by obſerving that nothing could be more political than allowing them to return home; for as the meaneſt ſoldier would depart ſo very rich, they might be certain of gaining ten men for every one they loſt.

Before his departure, Ferdinand Pizarro went to take his leave of Atabaliba, with whom he was in greater eſteem than any of the Spaniſh officers. The emperor therefore was much concerned at his departure, and ſaid, "My Lord, you are going home, "which is certainly matter of joy to you, though it "fills me with grief; for I already apprehend that "before your return, the man with one eye, (meaning Almagro,) and the other with the great belly, "(which was the king's treaſurer,) will put an end "to my life: let us then take our laſt farewel."

Nor was his conjecture ill founded, for the Spaniards, who had been ſent for the reſt of Atabaliba's ranſom, making a report of the prodigious quantities of the gold they had brought, and the reaſons they had for believing that much greater were concealed, Almagro gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould wait no longer, but diſpatch the inca, and then make as much haſte as poſſible to get into their poſſeſſion all the gold in Peru. A cruel reſolution, which, though Francis Pizarro at firſt ſeemed to reject with horror, he afterward gave it his approbation, on account of his being treated with ſome degree of contempt by Atabaliba, and his giving a viſible preference to other officers in the Spaniſh army; the reaſon of which is very ſingular, and cannot fail of giving pleaſure to the judicious reader.

Atabaliba was a prince of great penetration, and therefore laboured to obtain as perfect a knowledge as poſſible of the manners, cuſtoms, and abilities of the Spaniards, in order that he might be the better able to deal with them, if, upon the payment of the ſum propoſed for his ranſom, they ſhould actually reſtore him to liberty. What particularly puzzled him, and ſeemed moſt unaccountable, was their having the art of writing and reading, he not being able to comprehend whether it was a natural endowment, or was acquired by labour and application. In order to obtain ſatisfaction, he aſked one of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, whether

whether he could expreſs the name of God upon his thumb-nail? the man readily anſwered that he could, and accordingly wrote it; after which the inca went to ſeveral of the captains and ſoldiers, and ſhewing them his thumb-nail, aſked if they knew what that mark ſignified? and from their anſwers, began to entertain an opinion, that reading and writing were natural to the nation. Francis Pizarro falling in his way, he aſked him the ſame queſtion; but he, who was neither able to read or write, bluſhed, and turned away without reſolving the queſtion; which not only changed Atabaliba's opinion, with reſpect to theſe accompliſhments, which he now plainly ſaw were the fruits of education; but gave him a very low opinion of the general, whoſe original he was perſuaded muſt have been but mean, ſince he was in this reſpect exceeded in knowledge by the pooreſt of his ſoldiers.

His contempt for Pizarro, however, laid the foundation of his ruin; which was compleated by the villany of the wretched interpreter already mentioned; who falling in love with one of Atabaliba's wives, that monarch was ſo incenſed, that he let Pizarro know, that the fellow deſerved to be put to death, which the general turned into jeſt. Upon this the interpreter reſolved to be revenged, and accuſed the inca of contriving the deſtruction of the Spaniards; when the general ordered that this wild and ridiculous ſtory ſhould be digeſted into a formal accuſation. Commiſſioners were appointed to try Atabaliba; and the following charge was with great formality brought againſt him: That the late inca being his eldeſt brother and lawful ſovereign, and himſelf a baſtard, he had cauſed him to be depoſed and impriſoned, and afterwards uſurped his throne: that he had cauſed his ſaid brother to be murdered: that Atabaliba was an idolater: that he cauſed his ſubjects to ſacrifice men and children: that he had raiſed unjuſt wars, and been guilty of the blood of many people: that he kept a great many concubines: that he had exacted

taxes and tribute of the Peruvians, ſince the Spaniards were become in poſſeſſion of his country, and had even conſumed and embezzled the public treaſure; and that he had incited the Indians to rebel and make war againſt the Spaniards ſince he had been their priſoner.

Upon theſe abſurd and ridiculous articles, this ſovereign prince was tried, in the midſt of his own dominions, by the invaders of his country: and what ſtill adds to the abſurdity, he was tried, not by the laws of Peru, or by the law of nations eſtabliſhed by any country; but by thoſe of Spain; and being found guilty, was condemned to be burnt alive. It ought however to be obſerved, in juſtice to the reſt of the Spaniards, that almoſt all the principal perſons in the army declared againſt this vile proceeding, and even delivered a proteſt in writing againſt it.

Father Vincent, after being concerned in this mock ſhew of juſtice, undertook the inca's converſion; and the argument he uſed to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of ſuch a preacher. He promiſed, that if he would die a Chriſtian, inſtead of being burned, he ſhould be only ſtrangled, which had the deſired effect; and to the eternal diſhonour of all who were concerned in this iniquitous proceeding, he was baptized in the evening, and ſtrangled the next morning.

The events that followed the death of the Inca Atabaliba, plainly ſhew that human nature is the ſame in all countries and climates. Rumnavi, one of Atabaliba's generals, who had retired from the bloody ſlaughter at Caxamalca, with the rear-guard of his army, ſeized upon the province of Quito, and no ſooner heard of his ſovereign's death, than he cut to pieces ſuch of his officers as he believed firmly attached to his late maſter: while Quiſquis, another of his generals, who had been Hueſcar's executioner, attempted, with a ſtill larger army, to ſecure part of the province of Cuzco. This attempt was ſupported with ſo little bravery, that he fled before a handful of

9000 crowns, beſide what was embezzled by the ſoldiers.

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no Peruvian ſhould be loaded with fetters; and that the Spaniards ſhould not treat them as ſlaves, but as freemen, and be allowed to entertain Peruvians as hired ſervants: that all the laws of their country ſhould be inviolably obſerved, which were not repugnant to thoſe of Chriſtianity: and that this treaty ſhould be ratified by the Spaniſh general and his ſovereign the emperor of Germany. The Spaniards inſiſted on having the free exerciſe of their religion; on having lands aſſigned them for their ſubſiſtance; and free liberty of trade, without paying any taxes. All which were granted them.

But reaſonable and generous as theſe articles were, Pizarro and Almagro poſitively refuſed to ratify them; and would hear nothing but an abſolute ſubmiſſion of their country and perſons to the will of the Spaniards. Continuing his march therefore toward Cuzco, he was again attacked at ſome difficult paſſes in the mountains, by ſeveral parties of Peruvians: but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt their fire-arms and horſes, they fled to the capital; declaring that it was in vain for any human force to oppoſe the Spaniards, who were armed with thunder and lightning. The inhabitants of Cuzco, upon this, fled with their wives and children, and what was moſt valuable to them, to the woods and mountains. Pizarro entered the city without oppoſition, in October, 1532; and though the citizens had time to carry off their goods, he met with immenſe treaſure: and as it was the cuſtom of the country to bury with their great men the beſt part of the riches they poſſeſſed, theſe conquerors, who made no difficulty of rifling ſepulchres, found as much wealth in the tombs, as in the habitations of the living. The plunder of the city has been computed to amount at leaſt to the full value of Atabaliba's ranſom.

Pizarro having now made himſelf maſter of the capital, thought fit to invite the inhabitants to return to their dwellings; as he juſtly concluded, that if the

peope were rendered deſperate, the whole power of the empire might aſſemble againſt him. The Indians accepted this invitation, and returned to their houſes; and even the Inca made ſome overtures, intimating that he would be content to embrace the Chriſtian religion, and hold his dominions of the emperor of Germany, provided that neither he nor his ſubjects ſhould for the future be moleſted either in their perſons or eſtates. Pizarro giving him all poſſible encouragement, he came in perſon to Cuzco, where he was proclaimed Inca, and inveſted with that dignity in the ſame manner as his predeceſſors; Pizarro at the ſame time agreeing to obſerve the articles already mentioned. Theſe pacific meaſures were indeed become neceſſary, intelligence being received that all the ſouthern provinces of Peru were aſſembling againſt them, in behalf of the inca Manco Capac; and from Pizarro's knowing that Rumnavi, Quiſquis, and other Peruvian generals, had taken poſſeſſion of Quito, which had a little before obliged him to ſend a conſiderable detachment under the command of Sebaſtian Belancazar to reinforce the colony at St. Michael's, and to make head againſt the Peruvian generals in Quito.

While Francis Pizarro and his officers were thus employed in the reduction of ſeveral provinces of the empire, they were ſuddenly interrupted by an unexpected invaſion of their countrymen. Don Pedro de Alverado, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf with Cortes in the conqueſt of Mexico, hearing of the vaſt wealth obtained by theſe adventurers, was reſolved to come in for a ſhare. As he was poſſeſſed of the province of Guatimala, he fitted out ſeveral ſhips, and landed at Puerto Vejo; croſſed a part of the Andes near the equator; and was met in the valley of Riobamba by a large body of troops ſent by Pizarro, under the command of Almagro, who had joined Belancazar. A battle now ſeemed almoſt inevitable; but a negotiation being entered into, and a private

private treaty ſigned between them; Alverado agreed to return to his own government, in conſideration of his being paid 100,000 peſoes of gold to defray the expence of fitting out his fleet: and promiſed never to attempt an invaſion of Peru during the lives of Pizarro or Almagro. Things being thus amicably ſettled, Alverado and Almagro joined their forces, in order to march to Cuzco to procure Pizarro's ratification of the treaty: but Pizarro, who choſe to prevent his arrival at that capital, met him by the way, and accommodated matters to their mutual ſatisfaction.

Alverado, after he had ſufficiently reſted and refreſhed himſelf, took his leave of the two generals, highly ſatisfied both with the treatment he had met with, and the treaſures he had acquired. Almagro then went back to Cuzco, while Pizarro ſtaid behind to ſearch for a proper place for founding a new city; which he at length built on the ſea coaſt on the banks of the little river Lima, in 12° 30′, ſouth latitude, 120 miles weſt of Cuzco. The firſt ſtone was laid on the 6th of January, 1534; and from its being the feaſt of Epiphany, he called the town Villa de los Reyes, or the city of kings. This place is now the capital of Peru, and is known by the name of Lima. He then proceeded along the coaſt of the South Sea to a place about 300 miles farther north, where he founded another city; which, from the place of his birth, he called Truxillo.

While Francis Pizarro was employed in building this laſt city, he received advice, that his brother Ferdinand had in a great meaſure ſucceeded in his negotiation at the court of Spain; having procured for him the title of Marquis de los Atabillos, with the revenues of that province, and a large increaſe of territory, which was to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of New Caſtile: that he had alſo obtained for Almagro the poſt of marſhal of Peru, and a government 200 leagues in extent to the ſouthward of the

country

murder rendered him in the opinion of the natives. The two factions inſtantly united againſt him under Manco Capac, the brother and heir of Hueſcar, who was proclaimed inca at Cuzco. Upon which Pizarro proclaimed Toparpa, the ſon of Atabaliba; cauſed him to wear the imperial coronet; to be treated with the ſame honours as his father; and iſſued ſuch orders in his name as were for the intereſt of the Spaniards. This emperor, however, died ſoon after, when Pizarro imagining that nothing could eſtabliſh the dominion of the Spaniards in Peru, more than his obtaining poſſeſſion of Cuzco its capital, he began his march thither with all his forces, which conſiſted of near 400 men, beſides ſuch as were ſtiled confederate Indians.

Mean while Atauchi, brother to Atabaliba, having collected a large quantity of treaſure, to purchaſe his brother's ranſom, brought it to Caxamalca: but finding Atabaliba murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, reſolved to be revenged; and joining his forces with ſome Peruvian generals, ſurpriſed the Spaniards upon their march to Cuzco, killed ſome of them, and took ſeveral priſoners. Among theſe priſoners was Sanco de Cuellar, who had drawn up the proceſs againſt Atabaliba, and attended his execution. With theſe priſoners the Indian generals returned to Caxamalca, where they cauſed De Cuellar to be ſtrangled on the very ſpot where the emperor was put to death. But being informed that ſome of the other priſoners had proteſted againſt the inca's murder, they not only ſpared their lives, but ordered the wounded to be cured, and diſmiſſed them with conſiderable preſents, on their ſigning the following articles. That all acts of hoſtility ſhould be forgiven on both ſides: that for the future, peace ſhould be inviolably maintained between the Peruvians and Spaniards: that the former ſhould allow Manco Capac to aſcend the throne of Peru: that ſuch Indians as they held in chains ſhould be ſet at liberty: that for the future,

no

Almagro conſidering that the latter was the ſhorter road, and that cold, however ſharp, was more ſupportable to European conſtitutions than exceſſive heat, choſe that paſſage; and perſiſted in his reſolution, in ſpite of the repreſentations of Paullu and the Indians: but he had ſoon reaſon to repent of his obſtinacy; for his men being obliged to remove the ſnow with their hands, made ſhort journies, ſoon conſumed their proviſions, and were reduced to inconceivable diſtreſſes; ſo that he loſt above 10,000 Peruvians, and 150 Spaniards, excluſive of ſuch as eſcaped with the loſs of their fingers and toes, though the Spaniards were very warmly cloathed. They alſo loſt all or the greateſt part of their baggage. However, they, at length, after a tedious march of 600 miles, arrived in Copayapu, ſubject to the inca of Peru, where, through Paullu's influence, they were chearfully entertained; and the inhabitants not only brought them plenty of proviſions, but being informed of their love of gold, made them preſents to the amount of 7000 ducats.

Almagro found Paullu's authority of great ſervice to him in his progreſs; for on his account he was received in many places with much cordiality, and oppoſed in few; ſo that he might eaſily have eſtabliſhed colonies in very advantageous ſituations, had not a kind of infatuation directed all his views toward Cuzco, where he was reſolved to rule: affirming, that according to the commiſſion which he had received from the king of Spain, this city fell within his juriſdiction. This commiſſion was brought him by Ruis Diaz and Juan de Herada, who joined him with recruits from Cuzco, after having paſſed the Cordilleras, the road Almagro himſelf had taken; and which, as it was then ſummer, he paſſed with very little fatigue.

Notwithſtanding Almagro's receiving theſe recruits, he abandoned all his views upon Chili, and began his march northward; when his army being terrified

terrified at the remembrance of the diſtreſſes they had endured in paſſing the Cordilleras, abſolutely refuſed to return by the ſame road they came. Upon which he was obliged to take his rout through the deſart, where he was told by the Indians, that there was no water, but what was to be met with in ſtanding pools, corrupted by the heat of the ſun; and even theſe at eighteen or twenty miles diſtance from each other. To remedy theſe inconveniences, leathern bottles were made to carry the water, and parties of Indians diſpatched before the army to drain the pits of that which was ſtagnated, and leave the freſh at liberty to riſe: expedients that were of vaſt uſe, and that enabled them to paſs theſe barren tracts with much leſs difficulty than was at firſt imagined.

In the mean while, the Peruvians who marched with Almagro, grew diſcontented at the ill uſage they met with from the Spaniards, and complained to each other of their barbarity. None had greater ſhare in theſe conferences than the interpreter ſo often mentioned, who at length engaged in a plot againſt Almagro's life; but reflecting on the danger to which he was expoſed, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by flight. He was however taken, and then informed againſt the inca Paullu as being the principal perſon in the plot; but this being inconſiſtent with that prince's general behaviour, Almagro cauſed the interpreter to be put to the torture, when he confeſſed the falſhood of his accuſation, and at the ſame time acknowleged, that by falſe ſuggeſtions he had contributed to take away the life of Atabaliba. On which accounts he ſuffered an ignominious death.

At this time affairs were in great confuſion in Peru: the inca Manco had now loſt all confidence in the Spaniards, and was ſenſible of the injuries he received, and of the little hopes there were of his ever being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his throne and the ſovereign power, as had been promiſed by the treaty

treaty of Caxamalca, that he reſolved to try what could be done by force; judging it better to rely upon the juſtice of his cauſe, and the aſſiſtance of his people, than upon the promiſes of thoſe who had ſo baſely broke their words to his brother, and never fulfilled their engagements to himſelf. For this purpoſe he prevailed on Ferdinand Pizarro to give him leave to go to a ſolemn feſtival held at Yucaya, four leagues from Cuzco; which was in reality a kind of aſſembly of the ſtates of Peru, where a ſcheme was laid of inſtantly raiſing three armies, and inveſting Cuzco, Lima, and Truxillo at the ſame time. With the firſt he himſelf took the caſtle of Cuzco, and cloſely blocked up the city: the ſecond, which conſiſted of a good body of troops, marched againſt Francis Pizarro, who was ſent to the city of Lima; and the third was intended to act againſt Almagro, notice of which was ſent to the high prieſt, who found means to eſcape from the army. Prince Paullu was alſo informed of the ſituation of his brother's affairs, and what was expected from him in order to facilitate the conqueſt of the invaders; but he rejected theſe propoſals, and declared he would never break his faith with the Spaniards. The interpreter having diſcloſed this ſecret with his laſt breath, Almagro declared Paullu emperor; and though he had before refuſed that title, yet he ſuffered it to be given him, for the ſake of his own ſafety, and that his nation might not want a protector.

The inca Manco ſtill continued to beſiege Cuzco with an army of 200,000 men: but though there were only 70 Spaniards in the place, yet having ſome horſe and a good train of artillery, they made a vigorous defence; and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, made ſeveral ſallies, in one of which Juan Pizarro being wounded in the head with a ſtone, died about three days after, to the great regret of thoſe of his party.

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country aſſigned to the marquis Pizarro; but that as to his demand of the vaſſalage of 20,000 Indians, the emperor refuſed to grant it him, till he was informed of the cuſtoms of the country, and what conſequences might proceed from it, when he would ſhow him all the favour in that particular that was conſiſtent with juſtice.

As the aſſiſtance of the Peruvians was ſtill neceſſary to the Spaniards, they endeavoured to keep fair with them, yet at the ſame time awed them with troops in different places: they ſtrengthened Belancazar at Quito, and a large body marched to the north-eaſt to reduce ſome provinces bordering on the immenſe ridge of mountains called the Andes; and thus ſhewed, that they were very far from intending to perform the agreement made with the Peruvians.

Almagro having reſolved upon his ſouthern expedition, the inca Manco, in hopes of obliging the Spaniards, aſſiſted him with 15,000 men, under the conduct of his brother Paullu, and Villachuma, or as he is called by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, Villahoma. With this body of men Almagro began his march in the year 1545, and proceeded ſouthward as far as the province of Charcas; which he ſlighted as not worth keeping, on account of its being a barren and inhoſpitable country *. In this province Almagro was informed of two paſſages into Chili, both of them attended with extraordinary difficulty: the one being through a hot ſandy deſart, where his people muſt be prepared to encounter the ſevereſt attacks of heat and thirſt; the other lying over prodigious mountains covered with ſnow, ſo craggy and ſteep as ſcarce to admit of being climbed, and ſo intenſely cold as to be impaſſable, except at one ſeaſon of the year.

* This has, however, ſince proved the moſt valuable of all the Spaniſh acquiſitions, as it contains the rich mountains of Potoſi, from whence more ſilver has been brought into Europe, than from any other mines hitherto diſcovered.

In the mean time the marquis Pizarro hearing no news from his brother at Cuzco, and concluding that all the parties he had ſent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the Peruvians; reſolved to ſend ſuch a body of troops thither as ſhould be able to force their way in ſpite of all the oppoſition the Indians could make againſt them. Having aſſembled 5000 horſe and foot, he gave the command of this body to Don Alonzo de Alverado, with orders to march with all poſſible expedition; and under him appointed Pedro de Lerma captain of a troop of horſe, who being an older officer, was ſo diſguſted, that he meditated the ruin of the enterprize.

Alverado marched with ſuch diſpatch, that though he had preſſed upwards of 5000 Peruvians to carry their baggage, moſt of them periſhed in the firſt part of the journey, by being overloaden, and driven beyond their ſtrength: upon which he halted, and preſſed ſome thouſands more, to ſupply the places of thoſe he had loſt.

Almagro having received intelligence that Don Alonzo Alverado was advancing, diſpatched ſome Spaniards of diſtinction to repreſent to him that Cuzco, according to the emperor's diviſion of Peru, was a part of his government, and to adviſe him to return back to Lima, till the marquis and he ſhould adjuſt the limits of their reſpective government: when Alverado, inſtead of complying with this requeſt, made theſe gentlemen priſoners. Upon this Almagro took the field, and ſurpriſed a party of Alverado's horſe; by whom he was informed, that great part of the troops were better affected to him than to the marquis of Pizarro, and that Pedro de Lerma with many of his friends, would deſert upon the firſt opportunity: he therefore advanced to the banks of a ſmall river, on the other ſide of which Alverado was encamped. They remained quiet, however, without endeavouring to attack each other the whole day; but in the night Orgonez, Almagro's lieutenant-general,

general, forded the river at the head of the troops, threw Alverado's forces into great confuſion; and giving Pedro de Lerma, with the reſt of Almagro's friends, an opportunity of joining him, gained an eaſy victory, and took Alverado priſoner, with whom he returned in triumph to Cuzco. Some of the principal commanders now adviſed the conqueror to provide for his future ſecurity, by putting the Pizarros to death: but this he abſolutely refuſed, alledging, that it was beneath a gentleman and a ſoldier to put people to death in cold blood; and though he was preſſed with great warmth to march with his victorious army againſt Lima, he would not agree to it, on account of his having no claim to that part of the country.

The marquis Pizarro was greatly affected at the news of this defeat; and finding himſelf too weak to make head againſt Almagro, he ſent deputies to Cuzco to propoſe an accommodation. Almagro received them with great civility; and promiſed to have an interview with the marquis, in which commiſſioners ſhould be choſen to ſettle their reſpective boundaries. He accordingly marched out of Cuzco, at the head of above five hundred Spaniards, and took the road to Lima, carrying Ferdinand Pizarro with him as his priſoner, while Gonzalo Pizarro and Alverado were left in the city under the care of De Rojas; but after Almagro's departure, they ſeized De Rojas, put him in irons, and made their eſcape to Lima, accompanied by about 60 men, whom they had won over to their intereſt. Upon receiving the news of [illegible] eſcape, Orgonez and his partizans urged Alma- [illegible] revenge it by the death of his priſoner Ferdi- [illegible] but this he abſolutely refuſed, and ſoon after [illegible] marquis at Mala, with twelve perſons on [illegible] ſide, in order to terminate their diſputes. This conference was however ſuddenly broke off by one [illegible] Almagro's followers ruſhing abruptly into his pre- [illegible] nd crying out that he was betrayed; whereupon

upon he inſtantly took horſe and rode off, leaving matters entirely unſettled.

This alarm was cauſed by the approach of Gonzalo with 700 men. Upon which Orgonez alſo advanced with his troops, in order to prevent the treachery he ſuſpected to be in agitation. Each ſide now ſeemed ready for war: but a treaty was concluded; by which the poſſeſſion of Cuzco, with other advantages, was ceded to Almagro, till the emperor's deciſion ſhould be known. In conſequence of this treaty, Ferdinand Pizarro was ſet at liberty, upon his taking an oath not to act againſt Almagro.

The marquis Pizarro had no ſooner obtained his brother's liberty, than he broke through the treaty; ſending a notary with witneſſes to ſummon Almagro to ſurrender Cuzco and all the places he had conquered, on pain of being treated as a rebel. This method of proceeding was the more inexcuſable, as he had juſt before received an expreſs from court, by which each governor was enjoined, under pain of the emperor's diſpleaſure, to keep quiet poſſeſſion of all ſuch places as ſhould own their reſpective juriſdiction at the time of the meſſenger's arrival: and in caſe they thought themſelves injured, they were directed to appeal to the council of the Indies. But theſe orders he thought fit to ſuppreſs.

Almagro, ſeeing how ungenerouſly he was treated, gave orders for defending Cuzco; and marched with his troops to meet the marquis's army, which was advancing under the command of Gonzalo Pizarro: but after an engagement, which laſted two hours, Almagro was entirely defeated. He retired to the citadel of Cuzco, whither he was followed by Alverado, to whom he was ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

Almagro was no ſooner in the power of his enemies, than Ferdinand reſolved to be revenged for his own and his brother's long impriſonment, and effectually to prevent his making head againſt the Pizarros for the future: therefore, after Almagro had been

The inca, hearing of Almagro's approaching Cuzco, reſolved to retire; and though Almagro endeavoured to perſuade him to agree to a treaty, he abſolutely refuſed it, being determined never more to hear of terms from a people who had hitherto kept none with him. He had alſo took a very ſurpriſing ſtep, which was diſbanding his army, and privately retiring to the mountains. His officers endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, by obſerving, that no time could ever promiſe him greater ſucceſs than this, in which Pizarro and Almagro were at open variance. In anſwer to which he replied, that notwithſtanding their private animoſities, they would certainly join againſt him, ſhould he make a ſhew of oppoſing them; and that it was time enough for him to return and vindicate his right, when they were thoroughly weakened by their mutual contentions.

It is ſurprizing that the Spaniards ſhould have choſen this time for quarrelling among themſelves, and entering into a civil war. But Almagro having a conſiderable body of troops under his command, reſolved immediately to renew his old claim to Cuzco; and in caſe he ſhould make himſelf maſter of that city, determined to render it the ſeat of his government. On his appearing before the walls, and finding the Indians drawn off, he ſent a ſummons to Don Ferdinand Pizarro, the Spaniſh governor, to deliver up the city: to which he anſwered, that he held it by commiſſion from his brother the marquis, and would not deliver it up without his orders, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. He immediately proceeded to put the place in a poſture of defence; but part of the garriſon being Almagro's friends, introduced his forces into the town at midnight, when Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro were made priſoners; by which means Almagro became poſſeſſed of Cuzco, with little or no bloodſhed, and moſt of the garriſon entered into his pay.

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never ſeen before, was in a great meaſure worn off. Some of them even learned how to ride and handle arms; and having taken ſome horſes, were not afraid to make uſe of them againſt theſe tyrants; and it ſeems highly probable, that had not ſome particular bodies of Indians been ſo infatuated as to adhere to the intereſt of the Spaniards, diſcover the ſtrong paſſes, and from time to time bring them both proviſions and intelligence; Pizarro would at laſt have been obliged to abandon his conqueſts.

The moſt conſiderable acquiſition made after Almagro's death, was the conqueſt of the province of Charcas, in which were the invaluable mines of Potoſi; whoſe treaſures attracted ſuch a multitude of adventurers, that the Peruvians were at length compelled to ſubmit, and become ſlaves to their imperious maſters.

This conqueſt being finiſhed, the marquis founded the town of La Plata, ſo named from the ſilver mines; and divided, not only the city and the country about it, but the Indian inhabitants among the conquerors. To his brother Ferdinand Pizarro, who was then confined in Spain, he allotted a large ſhare; and to his brother Gonzalo, that part of the country in which were the ſilver mines of Potoſi. Ferdinand, as a citizen of La Plata, had alſo a ſhare in theſe mines; and a particular part of the country being aſſigned to his officers, they diſcovered ſo rich a vein, that they are ſaid to have dug from it the fineſt ſilver without any alloy.

The marquis now found himſelf poſſeſſed of an extent of country 7 or 800 leagues in length, from the equinoctial to the ſouth part of the province of Charcas, in which were more rich mines than in all the world beſide, and yet his ambition was not ſatisfied: but in an extreme old age he employed his brother Gonzalo, who was then governor of Quito, in the conqueſt of other nations.

Gonzalo accordingly entered the province of Los Quitos; and after ſubduing that country, where the people were downright barbarians when compared with thoſe of Peru, he reſolved to paſs the high mountains which bound that province on the north. For that purpoſe he aſſembled a conſiderable number of Indians, and a good quantity of cattle; but having aſcended half way, the cold was ſo intenſe, that he perceived it would be impoſſible for him to proſecute his march in that manner. Therefore leaving his cattle and the beſt part of his baggage, he haſtily deſcended into the valley of Zumaque, which he found extremely fertile, and there refreſhed his forces for two months.

Gonzalo then endeavoured to continue his march northward; but finding the way extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly eaſt, in hopes of meeting with an eaſier paſſage. He entered into a rich and populous country, where the inhabitants were filled with amazement and terror at ſeeing the Spaniards among them; and indeed they had the greateſt reaſon: for theſe pretended Chriſtians behaved toward them with the moſt ſavage brutality. Gonzalo Pizarro himſelf is ſaid, even by ſome Spaniſh writers, to have given ſeveral of the natives to be eaten alive by his dogs.

This inhuman treatment made them riſe in arms againſt theſe invaders, which obliged him to encamp and uſe all the precautions neceſſary in an enemy's country. But at length, finding no appearance of the riches he had been made to expect, he returned to Zumaque, much diſſatisfied with his expedition; but reſolved, nevertheleſs, not to return to Quito till he had made ſome diſcovery, that would render him as famous as his elder brother the marquis Pizarro.

This reſolution Gonzalo communicated to Francis Orellana, a gentleman of Truxillo, who came to join him in the valley of Zumaque: and having taken

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100 ſoldiers, and ſome Indians for guides and to carry proviſions, he marched directly to the eaſt. But theſe guides ſoon brought him into a country full of mountains, foreſts, and torrents; which obliged him to make ways where he found none, and to open a paſſage through the woods with hatchets. However after many days march, he pierced through as far as the province of Coca, where the cacique came to meet him, and offered him all the accommodations the country afforded.

Gonzalo was highly pleaſed with this reception; and by the aſſiſtance of his guides entered into a converſation with the cacique, who let him know, that the country through which he had paſſed was ſo full of mountains, foreſts and rivers, that he had taken the only paſſage that could have brought him thither: but that, if he was willing to embark on the river he ſaw before him, or to follow it by land, he might aſſure himſelf, that he ſhould reach the banks of another river, much larger than this, where there was a plentiful country, whoſe inhabitants were covered with plates of gold.

The cacique could not have mentioned a more alluring motive: Gonzalo's avarice was fired, and he immediately ſent two of his guides with orders to the officers and ſoldiers he had left at Zumaque to come and join him immediately. Theſe orders they inſtantly obeyed; and ſurmounting all the difficulties of the way, arrived much fatigued at the town of Coca, where Gonzalo made them ſtay ſome days to refreſh themſelves. He afterward proceeded along the banks of the river, which were extremely pleaſant: but the ſmoothneſs of the way did not laſt long. It was ſoon interrupted by ſmall rivers and uneven grounds; and they were obliged to march 43 days without finding either proviſions, fords, or canoes to enable them to paſs the river. By this long march they were much fatigued, when they were ſtopped by a ſight which appeared

peared very ſurpriſing: the river grew narrow and confined between two rocks, at no more than 20 feet diſtance from each other; and the water ruſhing with rapidity through this ſtrait, precipitated itſelf into a valley, which lay 200 fathoms below.

Here Pizarro made that famous bridge for his troops to paſs over, which is ſo much extolled by the Spaniſh hiſtorians; but finding the way not at all the better on the other ſide, and their proviſions growing daily more and more ſcarce, he reſolved to cauſe a brigantine to be built, in order to carry by water all his ſick men, proviſions, baggage and gold. This being done with no ſmall difficulty, Pizarro ſent on board this veſſel whatever had obſtructed his march, with 50 ſoldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, who were ſtrictly ordered to keep up with them, and to come every night to the camp. This order he obſerved very exactly, till Gonzalo ſeeing all his men pinched with hunger, commanded him to go in ſearch of proviſions and cottages, where the Spaniards might meet with refreſhments.

No ſooner had Orellana received his orders, than he lanched out into the middle of the river, where the rapidity of the ſtream carried him, as faſt as he could wiſh; for in three days he made above 100 leagues without the uſe of either ſails or oars. The current of the river Coca, at length carried him into a much larger river, where the ſtream was not near ſo ſwift. He there ſtaid a whole day to make his obſervation; and perceiving that the farther he went down, the more the river widened, he had not the leaſt doubt that this was the great river that had been ſo often ſought for: which filled him with ſuch joy at his good fortune, that without paying the leaſt regard to his duty to Gonzalo Pizarro, he thought of nothing but executing an enterprize he was then forming. For this purpoſe he ſounded his men; telling them, that he aſpired to a much higher dignity than could be obtained in the ſervice of Pizarro: that

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he owed every thing to himſelf and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand, to the greateſt and moſt deſirable diſcovery that ever was made in the Indies, namely, the great river whereupon they were ſailing; which coming out of Peru, and running from weſt to eaſt, was the fineſt channel in the new world, through which they might paſs from the South Sea to the Atlantic Ocean: he could not, without betraying them all, and without raviſhing from them the fruits of their voyage and induſtry, make others ſhare in a favour which heaven had reſerved for them alone.

Theſe repreſentations had the deſired effect; and inſpired his men with a ſhare of that ambition which fired his own breaſt. His neceſſities however ſometimes forced him to land with his people to obtain proviſions; but as he did not take theſe with that prudence that became him in a ſtrange country, the natives unanimouſly took up arms, and with great boldneſs fell upon the Spaniards; who defended themſelves with much courage, and killed many of their antagoniſts with their croſs-bows. Upon inſpecting their bodies, they found that ſeveral of them were women; it being no uncommon thing in that country for the women to fight by the ſides of their huſbands. But Orellana being of a romantic turn, improved this ſlight hint into a formal hiſtory of a great nation of Amazons ſettled upon this river: by which fable, he overturned his great deſign of giving it his own name; for from this ſtory it received the name which it ſtill bears, and will always bear, of The River of the Amazons.

In the remaining part of his paſſage, Orellana took care to behave with more prudence and mildneſs to the people he met with; among whom were many genteel and even polite nations. In fine, he paſſed down the river to the ſea; and having coaſted about a promontory, now called the North Cape, two hundred leagues from the iſland of Trinidada,

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fore. His body was, by the young Almagro's permiſſion, privately interred by his ſervants, no perſon of any figure daring at this juncture, to attend his funeral, for fear of giving offence to the prevailing party.

The meanneſs of Pizarro's education was publickly known, from his not being able to write his own name, which was always inſerted by his ſecretary between two ſtrokes, which he drew with a pen. He was never married, but had ſeveral concubines, ſome of them the daughters and ſiſters of the incas: however, it is not known that he left any children behind him.

No ſooner was this bloody affair compleated, than the conſpirators returned to the market-place, declaring that the tyrant was dead; and proclaimed the young Almagro governor of Peru. For all the friends of Almagro had aſſembled while the others were attacking the marquis in his palace, and ſecuring his guards, prevented his receiving any aſſiſtance. They alſo ſecured all the horſes and arms in the city, and commanded all the inhabitants who refuſed to join them, not to ſtir out of their houſes without leave. They plundered the houſes of the marquis, and his principal friends, in which they found immenſe treaſure. They did not meddle with the furniture of the marquis's palace, which they left for the uſe of the young Almagro, whom they had no ſooner proclaimed governor, than they conducted thither.

The death of Pizarro was, however, far from reſtoring quiet to Peru; for a new commiſſioner named Vaca de Caſtro, a man of ſtrict integrity, being ſent from Spain to compoſe the differences among the generals, and in caſe of Pizarro's death to aſſume the government of Peru; he made head againſt young Almagro, and defeated him. The conſequence was, that Almagro was tried, condemned, and executed in the ſame place where his father loſt his life before; together with the chief perſons of his party.

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De Caſtro then diſbanded his troops and applied himſelf to prudent regulations for the equitable adminiſtration of government; but the cabals of the miniſtry in Spain obſtructed his progreſs. A kind of royal audience was eſtabliſhed in Peru, which thwarted all his meaſures; a new governor was ſent over of an haughty arbitrary diſpoſition; and in the mean time Gonzalo Pizarro got himſelf acknowledged governor of Peru, by a formidable party; ſo that now all was diſtraction and confuſion.

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he owed every thing to himſelf and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand, to the greateſt and moſt deſirable diſcovery that ever was made in the Indies, namely, the great river whereupon they were ſailing; which coming out of Peru, and running from weſt to eaſt, was the fineſt channel in the new world, through which they might paſs from the South Sea to the Atlantic Ocean: he could not, without betraying them all, and without raviſhing from them the fruits of their voyage and induſtry, make others ſhare in a favour which heaven had reſerved for them alone.

Theſe repreſentations had the deſired effect; and inſpired his men with a ſhare of that ambition which fired his own breaſt. His neceſſities however ſometimes forced him to land with his people to obtain proviſions; but as he did not take theſe with that prudence that became him in a ſtrange country, the natives unanimouſly took up arms, and with great boldneſs fell upon the Spaniards; who defended themſelves with much courage, and killed many of their antagoniſts with their croſs-bows. Upon inſpecting their bodies, they found that ſeveral of them were women; it being no uncommon thing in that country for the women to fight by the ſides of their huſbands. But Orellana being of a romantic turn, improved this ſlight hint into a formal hiſtory of a great nation of Amazons ſettled upon this river: by which fable, he overturned his great deſign of giving it his own name; for from this ſtory it received the name which it ſtill bears, and will always bear, of The River of the Amazons.

In the remaining part of his paſſage, Orellana took care to behave with more prudence and mildneſs to the people he met with; among whom were many genteel and even polite nations. In fine, he paſſed down the river to the ſea; and having coaſted about a promontory, now called the North Cape, two hundred leagues from the iſland of Trinidada,

he ſailed directly thither, and there buying a ſhip, returned to Spain, where he made ſuch a report of the countries he had ſeen to the emperor Charles V. that he obtained as ample a commiſſion as he could deſire. In the year 1549, he ſailed with three ſhips for the river of the Amazons; but this ſecond expedition was the very reverſe of the firſt, and was unfortunate from the very beginning: for being wrecked on the coaſt of the Caraccas, he died of mere vexation and deſpair in the iſland of St. Margaret.

But to return to Gonzalo, who, while Orellana was engaged in this expedition, was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs: he proceeded ſeveral days along the banks of the river, till at laſt ſeeing that there were no hopes of Orellana's return, he concluded, that he and his men were loſt; and therefore giving up all expectation of making any farther diſcoveries in that country, proceeded back to his government of Quito.

After the marquis Pizarro had ſent his brother Gonzalo on the above expedition, he employed himſelf ſolely in ſecuring and eſtabliſhing his authority by a method that was at once the moſt cruel and impolitic. He had before diſcharged all the officers whom he ſuſpected to have had any regard for Almagro; and conſcious of his own injuſtice, and fearing leſt they ſhould complain againſt him, he prevented their returning home to Spain, by which means many of them were reduced to the neceſſity of living upon the alms of their countrymen. He reſolved to deprive them even of this pitiful ſubſiſtence; and for this purpoſe, publiſhed an edict forbidding any to relieve them; a proceeding that at once rendered them deſperate; and ſeeing no end to their miſeries, but by diſpatching themſelves or the marquis, they reſolved upon the latter. He was aſſaſſinated in his own houſe on Sunday June 26th 1541, in the 65th year of his age, in the city of Lima, the capital of Peru, which he had founded ten or eleven years before.

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who owe their origin to a white and a Quarteron. This is the laſt gradation, there being no viſible difference between them and the whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often even fairer than the Spaniards themſelves. The children of a white and Quinteron are alſo called Spaniards, and conſider themſelves as free from all taint of the negroe race. Every perſon is ſo jealous of their tribe or caſt, that if through any inadvertence, without the leaſt intention to affront, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended.

Before they attain the claſs of the Quinterones, there are ſeveral intervening circumſtances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call Sambos, owing their origin to a mixture between one of theſe with an Indian, or among themſelves. They are alſo diſtinguiſhed according to the caſts their fathers were of. Betwixt the Tercerones and the Mulattos, the Quarterones and the Tercerones, &c. are thoſe called Tente en el Ayre, ſuſpended in the air, becauſe they neither advance nor recede. Children whoſe parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are Salto atras, retrogrades; becauſe inſtead of advancing toward being whites, they have gone backwards towards the negro race. All the children between a negro and a Quarteron, are called Sambos de Negro, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c.

Theſe are the moſt known and common tribes or caſts; there are indeed ſeveral others proceeding from their intermarriages; but being ſo various, even they themſelves cannot eaſily diſtinguiſh them.

Theſe caſts, from the Mulattos, all affect the Spaniſh dreſs, but wear very ſlight ſtuffs on account of the heat of the climate. Theſe are the mechanics of the city; the whites, whether Creoles or Chapitones, diſdaining ſuch mean occupations, follow nothing below merchandize. But it being impoſſible for all to ſucceed, great numbers not being able to procure ſuf-

obliged to come to an anchor about half a league without Las Puercas, where they remained till the 28th, when the wind coming about to the northward, they once more got under ſail; and without meeting with any accident worth relating, came to an anchor in Carthagena bay on the 9th of July.

The city of Carthagena ſtands in 10 deg. 25 min. 48½ ſeconds north latitude, and in the longitude of 282 deg. 28 min. 36 ſeconds, from the meridian of Paris; and 301 deg. 12 min. 36 ſeconds, from the meridian of Pico Teneriffe, as appeared from the obſervations of the Spaniſh artiſts. The variation of the needle they alſo, from ſeveral obſervations, found to be eight degrees eaſterly.

The advantageous ſituation of Carthagena, the extent and ſecurity of its bay, and the great ſhare it attained of the commerce of that ſouthern continent, ſoon cauſed it to be erected into a city; and the ſame circumſtance contributed to its preſervation and increaſe, ſo that it ſoon became the moſt eſteemed ſettlement and ſtaple of the Spaniards; but at the ſame time theſe advantages alſo drew on it the hoſtilities of foreigners, who, thirſting after its riches, or induced by the importance of the place itſelf, have ſeveral times taken and plundered it.

The city is ſituated on a ſandy iſland, which forming a narrow paſſage on the ſouth-weſt, opens a communication with that part called Tierra Bomba, as far as Boca Chica. The neck of land which now joins them, was formerly the entrance of the bay; but it having been cloſed up by orders from Madrid, Boca Chica became the only entrance; and this alſo has been filled up ſince the laſt attempt of the Engliſh in the year 1741. This attempt induced the Spaniſh court to ſend orders for opening the old entrance, through which all ſhips now ſail into the bay. The land is ſo narrow on the north ſide, that before the wall was begun, the diſtance from ſea to ſea was only thirty-five fathoms; but afterward enlarging, forms another

particularly conſpicuous in thoſe who apply themſelves to literature, and who, at a tender age, ſhew a judgment and perſpicacity, which, in other climates, is attained only by a long ſeries of years and the greateſt application. This happy diſpoſition continues till they are between twenty and thirty years of age, after which they generally decline as faſt as they roſe; and frequently before they arrive at that age, when they ſhould begin to reap the advantage of their ſtudies, a natural indolence checks their farther progreſs, and they forſake the ſciences, leaving the ſurpriſing effects of their capacity imperfect.

The principal cauſe of the ſhort duration of ſuch promiſing beginnings, and of the indolent turn ſo often ſeen in theſe bright geniuſes, is doubtleſs the want of proper objects for exerciſing their faculties, and the ſmall hopes of being preferred to any poſt anſwerable to the pains they have taken: for as there is in this country neither army nor navy, and the civil employments very few, it is not at all ſurpriſing, that the deſpair of making their fortunes by this method ſhould damp their ardor for excelling in the ſciences, and plunge them into idleneſs, the ſure forerunner of vice; where they loſe the uſe of their reaſon, and ſtifle thoſe good principles which fired them when young and under proper ſubjection. The ſame is evident in the mechanic arts; wherein they early excel, and ſpeedily decline, from the cauſes already mentioned.

Charity is a virtue in which all the inhabitants of Carthagena, without exception, may be ſaid particularly to excel; and did they not liberally exert it towards European ſtrangers, who generally come hither, as they phraſe it, to ſeek their fortune, they would often periſh with ſickneſs and poverty. This appears a ſubject of ſuch importance, though well known to all who have viſited this part of the world, that a word or two muſt be added on it, in order to undeceive thoſe who, not contented with perhaps a competent eſtate in their own country, imagine that

having their lost in the Indies, and their fortune is made.

These in search of the galleons who are called Galleones, are men without employment, stock, or recommendation, who leave their country as fugitives, and without licence from the officers, come to seek their fortune in a country, where they are utterly unknown. These, after traversing the streets till they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are reduced to have recourse to the last extremity, the Carmelian hospital, where they receive for a considerable time sufficient to barely keep them alive, a kind of pap made of cassava; which, as the natives themselves will not eat it, the rude, no wonder! mortals never used to such food, may be easily conceived. As this is their food, so their lodging is the entrance of the squares, and the porticos of churches, till their good fortune throws them in the way of hiring themselves to some trader going up the country, and who wants a servant: for the city merchants, standing in no need of them, shew no great countenance to these adventurers, as they may very justly be called. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tormented by the entire disappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall into a thousand evils, which cannot well be represented; and among others, that distemper called at Carthagena, Chapelanada, or the distemper of the Chapitones, without any other succour to fly to than Divine Providence; for none find admittance into the hospital of St. Juan de Dios, but those who are able to pay; and consequently poverty becomes an absolute exclusion. Now it is that the charity of these people becomes conspicuous. The Negro and Mulatto and other free women, moved at their deplorable condition, carry them to their houses, and nurse them with the greatest care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the charity they procure, and even cause masses to be said for him. The

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general iſſue of this endearing benevolence is, that the Chapitone, on his recovery, during the fervour of his gratitude, marries either his Negro or Mulatto benefactreſs, or one of her daughters; and thus he is ſettled, but much more wretchedly than he could have been in his own country, though he had only his labour to ſubſiſt on.

The diſintereſtedneſs of theſe people is ſuch, that their compaſſion toward the Chapitones muſt not be imputed to the hopes of producing a marriage, it being very common for them to refuſe offers with regard to themſelves or their daughters, that their miſery may not be perpetual; but endeavour to find them a maſter, whom they may attend up the country, whither their inclination or the faireſt proſpects lead them.

Thoſe who remain in the city, whether bound by one of the above marriages, or become watermen and labourers, or ſuch like mean occupations, are ſo haraſſed with labour, and their wages ſo ſmall, that their condition in their own country muſt have been miſerable indeed, if they have not reaſon to regret their quitting it. And the height of their enjoyment, after toiling all day and part of the night, is to regale themſelves with ſome bananas, a cake of maize, or caſava, which ſerves for bread, and a ſlice of caſajo, or hung beef; without ever taſting any wheat bread during the whole year.

Others, and not a few, equally unfortunate with the former, retire to ſome ſmall farm-houſe, where in a bujio, or ſtraw hut, they live little different from beaſts, cultivating, in a very ſmall ſpot, ſuch vegetables as are at hand, and ſubſiſting on the ſale of them.

Among the reigning cuſtoms here, ſome are very different from thoſe of Spain, or the moſt known parts of Europe. The principal of theſe are the uſe of brandy, cacao, honey, ſweetmeats, and ſmoaking tobacco, which ſhall be taken notice of in their proper places.

The uſe of brandy is ſo common, that the moſt regular and ſober perſons of all degrees never omit drinking a glaſs of it every morning about eleven o'clock, alleging that this ſpirit ſtrengthens the ſtomach, weakened by copious and conſtant perſpiration, and ſharpens the appetite. *Hacer las once*, to do the eleven, that is, to drink a glaſs of brandy, is the common phraſe. This cuſtom, not eſteemed pernicious by theſe people when uſed with moderation, has degenerated into vice; many being ſo fond of it, that during the whole day, they do nothing but *hacer las once*.

Chocolate, here known only by the name of cacao, is ſo common, that there is not a negro ſlave but conſtantly allows himſelf a regale of it after breakfaſt; and the negro women ſell it ready made about the ſtreets, at the rate of a quarter of a real (about five farthings ſterling) for a diſh. This is however ſo far from being all cacao, that the principal ingredient is maize; but that uſed by the better ſort is neat, and worked as in Spain. This they conſtantly repeat an hour after dinner, but never uſe it faſting, or without eating ſomething with it. They alſo make a great uſe of ſweetmeats and honey; never ſo much as drinking a glaſs of water without previouſly eating ſome ſweetmeats. Honey is often preferred as the ſweeter, to conſerves or other ſweetmeats, either wet or dry. Their ſweetmeats are eaten with wheat bread, which they uſe only with theſe and chocolate; the honey they ſpread on caſava cakes.

The paſſion for ſmoaking is no leſs univerſal, prevailing among perſons of all ranks in both ſexes. The ladies and other white women ſmoak only in their houſes; a decency not obſerved either by the women of the other caſts, nor by the men in general, who regard neither time nor place. The manner of uſing it is, by ſlender rolls compoſed of the leaves of that plant; and the women have a particular method of ...ng the ſmoak. They put the lighted part of the roll

particularly conſpicuous in thoſe who apply themſelves to literature, and who, at a tender age, ſhew a judgment and perſpicacity, which, in other climates, is attained only by a long ſeries of years and the greateſt application. This happy diſpoſition continues till they are between twenty and thirty years of age, after which they generally decline as faſt as they roſe; and frequently before they arrive at that age, when they ſhould begin to reap the advantage of their ſtudies, a natural indolence checks their farther progreſs, and they forſake the ſciences, leaving the ſurpriſing effects of their capacity imperfect.

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of the family to viſit it at all hours; and likewiſe the lower claſs of women, among whom it is a cuſtom to come and lament the deceaſed. The funeral alſo is accompanied with the like noiſy lamentations; and even after the corpſe is depoſited in the grave, the mourning is continued in the houſe for nine days.

The French mathematicians arrived at Carthagena on the fourteenth of November, 1735, where they were joined by the Spaniſh artiſts; and on the 24th they all embarked on board a French frigate for Porto-bello. The paſſage was very ſhort and pleaſant; ſo that on the 27th of the ſame month they came to an anchor in Porto-bello harbour.

The town of St. Philip de Porto-bello, according to their obſervations, ſtands in 9 deg. 34 min. 35 ſeconds north latitude; and by the obſervations of father Feuillée, in the longitude of 82 deg. 10 min. W. from the meridian of Paris. This harbour was diſcovered on the ſecond of November 1502 by Chriſtopher Columbus, who was ſo charmed with its extent, depth, and ſecurity, that he gave it the name of Porto-Bello, or the fine harbour.

The town ſtands near the ſea, on the declivity of a mountain ſurrounding the whole harbour. Many of the houſes are built with wood, but in ſome the firſt ſtory is of ſtone, and the remainder of wood. They are about 130 in number, and moſt of them large and ſpacious. It is under the juriſdiction of a governor, with the title of lieutenant-general, under the preſident of Panama. At the eaſt end of the town is a quarter called Guinea, becauſe there all the negroes, whether ſlaves or free, have their habitations. This quarter is much crouded when the galleons are in the harbour, moſt of the inhabitants of the town entirely quitting their houſes at that ſeaſon, for the advantage of letting them, while others content themſelves with a ſmall part, in order to make money of the reſt.

In a large track between the town and Gloria caſtle, barracks are erected, and principally filled with the

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ſhips crews; who keep ſtalls of ſweetmeats, and other kind of eatables, brought from Spain. But after the concluſion of the fair, when the ſhips are ſailed, all thoſe buildings are taken down, and the town returns to its former tranquillity and emptineſs.

The harbour of Porto Bello extremely commodious for all ſorts of ſhips or veſſels; and, though its entrance is very wide, it is well defended by fort St. Philip de todo Fierro. It ſtands on the north point of the entrance, which is about ſix hundred fathoms, or ſomething leſs than the fourth part of a league broad; but the ſouth ſide being full of riſes of rocks, extending to ſome diſtance from the ſhore, a ſhip is obliged to ſtand to the north, through the deepeſt part of the channel, which lies in the middle of the entrance, and thus continues in a ſtraight direction, having nine, ten, or fifteen fathom water, and a bottom of clayey mud mixed with chalk and ſand.

On the ſouth ſide of the harbour, and oppoſite to the anchoring place, is a large caſtle, called Santo Jago de la Gloria; to the eaſt of which, at the diſtance of about an hundred fathoms, begins the town, having before it a point of land projecting into the harbour. On this point ſtood a ſmall fort called St. Jerom, within ten toiſes of the houſes. All theſe were demoliſhed by admiral Vernon, who in 1739 made himſelf maſter of this port.

Among the mountains which ſurround the whole harbour of Porto Bello, beginning from St. Philip de todo Fierro, or the iron Caſtle, and without any decreaſe of height, extends to the oppoſite point, one is particularly remarkable by its ſuperior altitude, as if deſigned for the barometer of the country, by foretelling every change of weather. This mountain, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Capiro, ſtands at the utmoſt extremity of the harbour, in the road to Panama. Its top is always covered with clouds of a denſity and darkneſs ſeldom ſeen in this atmoſphere; and from theſe, which are called the capillo, or cap, has poſſibly

been corruptly formed the name of Monte Capira. When theſe clouds thicken, increaſe their blackneſs, and ſink below their uſual ſtation, it is a ſure ſign of a tempeſt: while, on the other hand, their clearneſs and aſcent, as certainly indicate the approach of fair weather. It muſt however be remembered, that theſe changes are very frequent, and almoſt inſtantaneous.

The juriſdiction of the lieutenant-general governor of Porto Bello, is limited to the town and the forts; the neighbouring country, over which it might be extended, being full of mountains, covered with impenetrable foreſts, except a few valleys, in which are thinly ſcattered ſome ſmall farms.

The inclemency of the climate of Porto Bello is ſufficiently known all over Europe. Not only ſtrangers who come thither are affected by it, but even the natives themſelves ſuffer in various manners. It deſtroys the vigour of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life. The heat is exceſſive, being augmented by the ſituation of the town, which is ſurrounded with high mountains, without any interval for the winds, whereby it might be refreſhed. The trees on theſe mountains ſtand ſo thick as to intercept the rays of the ſun; and conſequently hinder them from drying the earth under them: hence copious exhalations form large clouds, and precipitate in violent torrents of rain. But theſe are no ſooner over, than the ſun breaks forth afreſh, and ſhines with his former ſplendor; though ſcarce has the activity of his rays dried the ſurface of the ground, not covered by the trees, than the atmoſphere is again clouded by another collection of thick vapours, and the ſun again concealed; and in this manner it continues during the whole day: the night is alſo ſubject to the ſame viciſſitudes.

Theſe torrents of rain, which by their ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity ſeem to threaten a ſecond deluge, are accompanied with ſuch tempeſts of thunder and lightning, as muſt daunt the moſt reſolute. To this may

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be added the howlings and ſhrieks of the multitudes of monkeys of all kinds, which live in the foreſts of the mountains, and which are never louder, than when a man of war fires the morning and evening gun, though they are ſo much uſed to it.

This continual inclemency, added to the fatigue of the ſeamen in unloading the ſhips, renders them weak and faint; and they, in order to recruit their ſpirits, have recourſe to brandy, of which there is, on theſe occaſions, an incredible conſumption. The exceſſive labour, immoderate drink, and the inclemency and unhealthfulneſs of the climate, muſt jointly deſtroy the beſt conſtitutions, and produce thoſe deleterious diſeaſes ſo common in this country. But it is not the ſeamen alone who are ſubject to theſe diſeaſes; others who are ſtrangers to the ſeas, and not concerned in the fatigues, are alſo attacked by them; and, conſequently, is a ſufficient demonſtration that the other two are only collateral, though they tend both to ſpread and inflame the diſtemper. On ſome occaſions, phyſicians have been ſent for from Carthagena, as being ſuppoſed to be better acquainted with the propereſt methods of curing the diſtempers of this country, and conſequently more able to recover the ſeamen: but experience has ſhewn, that this intention has been ſo little anſwered, that the galleons, or other European ſhips, which ſtay any time here, ſeldom leave it, without burying half, or at leaſt one third of their men; and hence this city has with too much reaſon been termed the grave of the Spaniards; but it may with much greater propriety be applied to thoſe of other nations who viſit it.

The number of the inhabitants of Porto Bello, by reaſon of its ſmallneſs, and the inclemency of its climate, is very inconſiderable, and the greateſt part of theſe are negroes and mulattoes, there being ſcarce thirty white families; for all who by commerce or their eſtates are in eaſy circumſtances, remove to Panama, ſo that thoſe only ſtay at Porto Bello whoſe employment oblige them to it.

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onſet, ſeemingly ſo dangerous, are only a lance of two or three yards in length, made of a very ſtrong wood, with the point of the ſame hardened in the fire; and a kind of cimeter about three quarters of a yard in length. Thus armed they ſtay till the creature makes an aſſault on the left arm, which holds the lance, and is wrapped up in a ſhort cloak of bays. Sometimes the tiger, aware of the danger, ſeems to decline the combat; but his antagoniſt provokes him with a ſlight touch of the lance, in order, while he is defending himſelf, to ſtrike a ſure blow: for as ſoon as the creature feels the lance, he graſps it with one of his paws, and with the other ſtrikes at the arm which holds it. Then it is that the perſon nimbly aims a blow with his cimeter, which he kept concealed in the other hand, and hamſtrings the tiger, which immediately draws back enraged, but returns to the charge; when receiving another ſuch ſtroke, is totally deprived of his moſt dangerous weapons, and rendered incapable of moving. After which the perſon kills him at his leiſure; and ſtripping off his ſkin, cutting off the head, and the fore and hind feet, returns to the town, diſplaying thoſe as the trophies of his victory.

Among the great variety of animals in this country, one of the moſt remarkable is the Perico Ligero, or nimble Peter, an ironical name given it on account of its extreme ſluggiſhneſs and ſloth. It reſembles a middling monkey in ſhape, but of a wretched appearance, the ſkin of it being of a greyiſh brown, and all over corrugated, and the legs and feet without any hair. He is ſo lumpiſh as not to ſtand in need of either chain or hutch; for he never ſtirs till compelled by hunger; and ſhews no manner of apprehenſion either of men or wild beaſts. When he moves, every effort is attended with ſuch a plaintive, and at the ſame time ſo diſagreeable a cry, as at once produces pity and diſguſt; and this even in the ſlighteſt motion of the head, legs, or feet; proceeding probably from

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been corruptly formed the name of Monte Capiro. When theſe clouds thicken, increaſe their blackneſs, and ſink below their uſual ſtation, it is a ſure ſign of a tempeſt: while, on the other hand, their clearneſs and aſcent, as certainly indicate the approach of fair weather. It muſt however be remembered, that theſe changes are very frequent, and almoſt inſtantaneous.

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South America. Its ſituation on the iſthmus, betwixt the ſouth and north ſea, the goodneſs of its harbour, and its ſmall diſtance from Panama, have given it the preference for the rendezvous of the joint commerce of Spain and Peru at its fair.

On advice being received at Carthagena, that the Peru fleet has unloaded at Panama, the galleons make the beſt of their way to Porto Bello, in order to avoid the diſtempers which have their ſource from idleneſs. The concourſe of people on this occaſion is ſuch, as to raiſe the rent of lodgings to an exceſſive degree; a middling chamber, with a cloſet, lets, during the fair, for a thouſand crowns, and ſome large houſes for four, five, or ſix thouſand.

As ſoon as the ſhips are moored in the harbour, a ſquare tent covered with the ſhip's ſails is erected for receiving the cargo; at the landing of which the proprietors of the goods are preſent, in order to claim their own bales. Theſe are drawn on ſledges to their reſpective places by the crew of every ſhip.

While the ſeamen and European traders are thus employed, the land is covered with droves of mules from Panama, loaded with cheſts of gold and ſilver on account of the merchants of Peru: yet, notwithſtanding all this hurry and confuſion, no theft, loſs, or diſturbance, is ever known. He who has ſeen Porto Bello at other times, ſolitary, poor, and a perpetual ſilence reigning every where, the harbour quite empty, and every place wearing a melancholy aſpect, muſt be filled with aſtoniſhment at the ſudden change, to ſee the buſtling multitudes, every houſe crowded, the ſquare and ſtreets encumbered with bales, and cheſts of gold and ſilver, and the harbour full of ſhips and veſſels. In ſhort, he will ſee a ſpot, at other times deteſted for its deleterious qualities, become the ſtaple of the riches of the old and new world, and the ſcene of one of the moſt conſiderable branches of commerce in the whole earth.

Soon after the Spaniſh and French mathematicians arrived

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branches to the river, are inhabited by an infinite variety of creatures. The different ſpecies of monkeys, ſkipping in troops from tree to tree, hanging from the branches; in other places ſix or eight of them linked together in order to paſs a river, the dams with their young on their ſhoulders, throwing themſelves into odd poſtures, and making a thouſand grimaces, will perhaps appear fictitious to thoſe who have never ſeen them. But if the birds be added, our reaſon for admiration will be greatly increaſed: for here are an amazing abundance, whoſe plumage glitters with all the colours of the rainbow.

On their arrival at Cruces, they were entertained by the alcalde of the town; and on the 27th ſet out on their journey to Panama, which they reached in the evening. They firſt waited on the preſident, who received them all in the moſt cordial and endearing manner.

Some indiſpenſible preparations detained them longer at Panama than they expected. But at length every difficulty being ſurmounted, they embarked in the bay of Panama, and directed their courſe towards the river Guiaquil.

Panama is built on an iſthmus of the ſame name, the coaſt of which is waſhed by the South-Sea. From the obſervations thoſe mathematicians made here, the latitude of this city appears to be 8 deg. 5 min. 48 and a half ſeconds north. With regard to its longitude, it is ſtill doubtful, whether it is on the eaſt or weſt ſide of the meridian of Porto Bello. The French geographers will have it to lie on the eaſt ſide, and accordingly have placed it ſo in their maps; but, in thoſe of the Spaniards, it is on the weſt ſide: and perhaps the latter may be concluded to have a more intimate knowledge of their reſpective ſituations.

The houſes in general, when our artiſts viſited this city, were of wood, but of one ſtory, and a tiled roof, but large; and their diſpoſition, and the ſymmetry of their windows, made a handſome appearance: a few

a general contraction of the muſcles and nerves of his body, which puts him to an extreme pain when he endeavours to move them. In this diſagreeable cry conſiſts his whole defence; for, it being natural to him to fly at the firſt hoſtile approach of any beaſt, he makes at every motion ſuch howlings as are even inſupportable to his purſuer, who ſoon quits him, and even flies beyond the hearing of his horrid noiſe. Nor is it only during the time he is in motion that he makes theſe cries; he repeats them while he reſts himſelf, continuing a long time motionleſs before he takes another march. The food of this creature is generally wild fruits; and when he can find none on the ground, he looks out for a tree well loaded, which with a great deal of pains he climbs; and in order to ſave himſelf ſuch another toilſome aſcent, plucks off all the fruit, throwing them on the ground: and to avoid the pain of deſcending the tree, forms himſelf into a ball, and drops from the branches. At the foot of this tree he continues till all the fruit are conſumed, never ſtirring till hunger forces him to ſeek again for food.

Serpents here are very numerous, and very deſtructive. Toads alſo ſwarm, not only in the damp and marſhy places, as in other countries, but even in the ſtreets, courts of houſes, and all open places in general. When it has rained in the night, the ſtreets and ſquares in the morning ſeem paved with theſe reptiles; ſo that you cannot ſtep without treading on them, which ſometimes is productive of troubleſome bites; for beſide their poiſon, they are large enough for their teeth to be ſeverely felt. At the ſame time, there are ſuch numbers of them, that nothing can be imagined more diſmal than their croakings, during the night, in all parts of the town, woods, and caverns of the mountains.

The town of Porto Bello, ſo thinly inhabited by reaſon of its noxious air, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the barrenneſs of its ſoil, becomes, at the time of the galleons, one of the moſt populous places in all South

Peru fleet, during the time of the fair; and is never without barks loaded with proviſions from the ports of Peru, and a great number of coaſting veſſels going from thence to Choco, and parts on the weſtern coaſt of that kingdom.

The winds are the ſame as along the whole coaſt; the currents are ſtronger near the iſlands than at a diſtance from them; but no general rule can be given with regard to their courſe, that depending on the place where the ſhip is, with regard to the channels which they form. They alſo vary in the ſame place according to the winds.

The inhabitants of Panama greatly reſemble thoſe of Carthagena in their diſpoſitions, except in their being more parſimonious, and more deſigning: the women imitate the dreſs of the ladies of Peru. They wear girdles, and five or ſix chaplets or rows of fine beads about their necks, together with two or more gold chains, having ſome relics appendant from them. Round their arms they wear bracelets of gold, and ſtrings of pearls, corals, and beugles.

Proviſions of all kinds are very dear in this city and its diſtrict, occaſioned by the large quantity required, and the great diſtance which they are brought; but is amply compenſated by the multitude and value of the pearls found in the oyſters of the gulph; and particularly thoſe near the iſlands del Rey Tabago, and others to the number of forty-three, forming a ſmall archipelago. There are few perſons of ſubſtance near Panama, who do not employ all, or at leaſt part of their ſlaves in this fiſhery; the manner of which not being commonly known, it will not be improper to deſcribe it here.

The owners of the negroes employ the moſt proper perſons for this fiſhery; which being performed at the bottom of the ſea, they muſt be both expert ſwimmers, and capable of holding their breath a long time. Theſe they ſend to the iſlands, where they have huts built for their lodgings and boats, which

arrived at Porto Bello, they ſent advice of it to the preſident of Panama, requeſting him to ſend ſome of the veſſels uſed in the navigation of the river Chagre to carry them to Panama; as their inſtruments rendered it impoſſible for them to travel through the narrow craggy roads leading from Porto Bello to that city. He readily complied with their requeſt, and immediately diſpatched two veſſels to Porto Bello; on board which they all embarked on the 22d of December, and rowed out of Porto Bello harbour, and at four in the evening landed at the cuſtom-houſe at the mouth of the river Chagre.

This river has its ſource in the mountains near the town of Cruces. Its entrance at the north ſea is defended by a fort ſituated on a ſteep rock near the ſea-ſhore, on the eaſt ſide of the river. About twenty yards from this fort is the town of San Lorenzo de Chagres.

The barks employed on this river are of two kinds, the chatos and bongos. The former are, like the European veſſels, compoſed of ſeveral pieces of timber; but of a greater breadth, that they may draw but little water: they carry from ſeven to eight hundred quintals. The latter are formed out of one piece of wood; and it is aſtoniſhing to think there ſhould be trees of ſuch a prodigious magnitude, ſome of them being eleven Paris feet broad, and carry conveniently four or five hundred quintals. Both ſorts have a cabin at the ſtern for the convenience of paſſengers, and a kind of awning, ſupported by wooden ſtancheons, reaching to the head. Each of theſe require, beſide the pilot, eighteen or twenty robuſt negroes at leaſt; as it would be otherwiſe impoſſible to make any way againſt the current.

Perhaps nothing can excel the proſpects which the rivers of this country exhibit. The moſt fertile imagination of a painter can never equal the magnificence of the rural landſcapes which are here to be ſeen. The groves, which ſhade the plains, and extend their branches

round a man, or any other animal that happens to come within its reach, and immediately ſqueezes it to death. This fiſh reſembles a thornback in ſhape, but is prodigiouſly larger.

Every negroe, to defend himſelf againſt theſe animals, carries with him a ſharp knife, with which, if the fiſh offers to aſſault him, he endeavours to ſtrike it in a part where it has no power to hurt him; on which the fiſh immediately flies. The officers keep a watchful eye on theſe voracious creatures, and on diſcovering them, ſhake the rope faſtened to the negroes bodies, that they may be upon their guard. Many, on the diver's being in danger, have thrown themſelves into the water with the like weapon, and haſtened down to their defence; but too often all their dexterity and precaution are not ſufficient to protect the diver from being devoured by theſe fiſh, or loſing one of his limbs by their bite.

Beſide theſe pearls, the kingdom of Terra Firma was formerly equally remarkable for the fine gold produced by the mines in its territories; and which conſequently proved a very conſiderable addition to its riches. Part of theſe mines were in the province of Veraguas, others in that of Panama; but moſt, alſo the richeſt, and whoſe metal was of the fineſt quality, were in the province of Darien: and, on that account, the conſtant objects of the miners. But the Indians revolting, and making themſelves maſters of the whole province, there was a neceſſity for abandoning theſe mines, by which means the greateſt part of them were loſt; a few only remaining on the frontiers, which ſtill yield a ſmall quantity of gold.

Though the mines of Veraguas and Panama are not expoſed to theſe dangers, yet they are not worked with more vigour than the others; and this for two reaſons. The firſt is, that beſide their being leſs rich in metal than the others, the gold they yield is not of ſo good a quality as that of Darien; the ſecond, and indeed the moſt weighty, is, that theſe

were of ſtone. The ſtreets both of the city and ſuburb are ſtraight, broad, and, for the moſt part, paved.

Though the greateſt part of the houſes were formerly of wood, fires were rarely known at Panama; the nature of the timber being ſuch, that if any fire is laid on the floor, or placed againſt a wall, it is productive of no other conſequence than that of making a hole, without kindling into a flame, and the fire is extinguiſhed by the aſhes. But notwithſtanding this excellent quality of the wood, in the year 1737, the city was almoſt entirely conſumed; the goodneſs of the timber being unable to ſecure it from the ravages of the flames.

In this city is a tribunal or royal audience, in which the governor of Panama preſides; and to this employment is annexed the captainſhip-general of Terra Firma, which is generally conferred on an officer of diſtinction, though his common title is that of preſident of Panama. It is a biſhopric, and has alſo a court of inquiſition appointed by the tribunal of inquiſition at Carthagena.

The harbour of this city is formed in its road, by the ſhelter of ſeveral iſlands, particularly Iſla de Naos, de Perico, and Flamencos; and the anchoring place is before the ſecond, and thence called Perico. The ſhips here lie very ſafe; and their diſtance from the city is about two leagues and a half, or three leagues.

The variation of the magnetic needle in the road is 7 deg. 39 min. eaſterly. Both the road and the whole coaſt abound in a great variety of excellent fiſh, among which are two kinds of oyſters, one ſmaller than the other; but the ſmalleſt are much the beſt.

At the bottom of the ſea are a great number of pearls; and the oyſters in which they are found are remarkably delicious. This kind of fiſhery is of great advantage to the inhabitants of all the iſlands in this bay.

The harbour of Perico is the rendezvous of the Peru

9th of March, about three in the evening, they came to an anchor in Manta bay; being deſirous of viewing this coaſt, in order to know whether by forming their firſt baſe in one of its plains, the ſeries of triangles could be continued to the mountains in the neighbourhood of Quito.

Accordingly they went on ſhore in the evening of the ſixth, and repaired to the village of Monte Chriſto, about three leagues from the coaſt; but ſoon found that geometrical operations were impracticable there, the country being every where extremely mountainous, and almoſt wholly covered with prodigious trees, an inſurmountable obſtacle to any ſuch deſign: they therefore determined to purſue their voyage to Guiaquil, and thence to Quito.

The bay of Manta was formerly remarkable for a conſiderable pearl fiſhery, but it has been diſcontinued for ſome time. The bay has probably its name from the great quantity of mantas in thoſe parts, the Indian inhabitants being chiefly employed in taking that fiſh, which they ſalt and carry to the inland provinces. Europeans cannot help admiring their dexterity in this kind of fiſhery, which they carry on in the following manner: They throw into the water a log of wood, ſuch as they uſe in making a balza, being about five or ſix yards in length, and near a foot in diameter. This log will be ſufficient to ſupport the weight intended, which conſiſts of a net lying acroſs one end of it, and an Indian ſtanding in an erect poſition on the other. On this tottering veſſel, aſſiſted by only a ſingle oar, he puts off to ſea, about the diſtance of half a league, where he ſhoots his net. Another Indian follows him on a ſimilar log, takes hold of the rope faſtened to one end of the net, by which means the whole is expanded, and both the Indians move toward the land, where their partners wait to draw the net on ſhore. In this occupation the dexterity and agility of the Indians in maintaining an equilibrium on the round logs, is truly

hold eight, ten or twenty negroes, under the command of an officer. In theſe boats they go to ſuch parts as are known to produce pearls, and where the depth of the water is not above ten, twelve, or fifteen fathom. Here they come to an anchor, and the negroes having a rope faſtened round their bodies, and the other end to the ſide of the boat, they take with them a ſmall weight to accelerate their ſinking, and plunge into the water. On reaching the bottom they take up an oyſter, which they put under the left arm; the ſecond they hold in their left hand, and the third in their right: with theſe three oyſters, and ſometimes another in their mouth, they riſe to breathe, and put them in a bag. When they have reſted themſelves a while and recovered their breath, they dive a ſecond time; and thus continue, till they have either compleated their taſk, or ſtrength fails them. Every one of thoſe negroe divers, is obliged daily to deliver his maſter a certain fixed number of pearls; ſo that when they have got the requiſite number of oyſters in their bag, they begin to open them, and deliver the pearls to the officer till they have made up the number due to their maſter. The remainder are the property of the negroes.

Beſide the toil of this fiſhery, from the oyſters ſtrongly adhering to the rocks, they are alſo in no ſmall danger from ſome kinds of fiſh, which either ſeize the negroes, or by ſtriking on them, cruſh them to the bottom. The fiſhery on the whole coaſt is obnoxious to the ſame danger from thoſe fiſh, but they are much more frequent where ſuch riches abound. The taburones, and tintoretas, which are of an enormous ſize, feed on the bodies of theſe unfortunate fiſhermen; and the mantas, or quilts, either preſs them to death by wrapping their fins about them, or cruſh them with their prodigious weight. The name Manta has not been improperly given to this fiſh, either with regard to its figure or property; for being broad and long like a quilt, it wraps its fins round

the ſavannahs in its neighbourhood, are not to be travelled over either on foot or horſeback during the winter; for being a ſpungy chalk, it is every where ſo level, that there is no declivity for carrying off the water: and therefore on the firſt rain it becomes a general ſlough. In this reſpect the old town has the advantage, being built on a gravelly ſoil, which is never impaſſable. This city is defended by three forts; two on the river near the city, and the third behind it, guarding the entrance of a ravin. Theſe are all built after the modern method of fortification; but before they were erected, it had only a platform, which is ſtill remaining in the old town. All the churches and convents are of wood, except that of St. Domingo, ſtill ſtanding in the old town, which is of ſtone: the great ſolidity of the ground in that part being ſufficient for ſupporting buildings of this kind.

The city and its juriſdiction are under a corregidor, nominated by the king, who holds his office during five years. Notwithſtanding he is ſubordinate to the preſident and audience of Quito, he appoints the deputies in the ſeveral departments of his juriſdiction, and for the police and civil government. The eccleſiaſtical government is lodged in the biſhop of Quito's vicar, who is generally alſo the prieſt of the town. Guiaquil contains, in proportion to its dimenſions, as many inhabitants as any city in all America; the continual reſort of ſtrangers drawn thither by commerce, contributing very greatly to increaſe the number, generally computed at twenty thouſand.

Though the heat here is equal to that of Panama or Carthagena, yet the climate diſtinguiſhes itſelf in the colour of the human ſpecies; and if a certain author has ſtyled it the equinoctial low countries, in alluſion to the reſemblance it bears to the Netherlands of Europe; it may, with equal propriety, bear that appellation from this ſingularity, namely, that all the natives, except thoſe born from a mixture of blood, are freſh coloured, and ſo finely featured, as juſtly to be

ſeas, by their rich produce of pearls, offer a more certain, and at the ſame time a more eaſy profit.

Among the creatures eaten by the inhabitants of Panama, is an amphibious creature called guana. It reſembles a lizard in ſhape, but is conſiderably larger, being generally about a yard in length. It is of a yellowiſh green colour, but of a lighter yellow on the belly than on the back, where the green predominates. It has four legs like a lizard, but its claws are much longer in proportion: they are jointed by a web which covers them, and is of the ſame form with thoſe of geeſe, except that the talons at the ends of the toes are much longer, and project entirely out of the web or membrane. Its ſkin is covered with a thin ſcale adhering to it, and which renders it rough and hard; and from the crown of its head to the beginning of its tail, which is generally about half a yard, runs a line of vertical ſcales, each ſcale being from one to ſix lines in breadth, and three or four in length, ſeparated ſo as to make a kind of ſaw: but from the end of the neck to the root of the tail, the ſcales gradually leſſen, ſo that they are ſcarce viſible at the latter part. Its belly is, in largeneſs, very diſproportionable to its body; and its teeth are ſeparated and very ſharp pointed. On the water it rather walks than ſwims, being ſupported by the webs of its feet; and on that element its ſwiftneſs is amazing, being out of ſight in an inſtant; whereas on the land, though far from moving heavily, its celerity is much leſs. When pregnant, its belly ſwells to an enormous ſize; and indeed they often lay ſixty eggs at a time, each of which is about as large as that of a pigeon. Theſe eggs are reckoned a great dainty in every part of America where the creature is found. The fleſh of the guana is exceeding white, and greatly admired; but few Europeans can be perſuaded to eat it.

Every thing being now ready for their departure, they embarked on board the St. Chriſtopher, commanded by capt. Don Juan Manuel Morel, and the

9th

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The cacao trees delight ſo exceſſively in water, that the ground where they are planted muſt be reduced to a mire; and if not carefully ſupplied with water they die. They muſt alſo be planted in the ſhade, or at leaſt defended from the perpendicular rays of the ſun. Accordingly they are always placed near other larger trees, under the ſhelter of which they grow and flouriſh.

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amazing; for the continual agitation of the ſea renders it abſolutely neceſſary for them to be continually changing their poſition, and making different motions with their bodies: and what ſtill heightens the difficulty is, that the Indian is at the ſame time obliged to mind both his oar and his net, in drawing it toward the land. They do indeed ſometimes, though very ſeldom, ſlip off their logs; but being excellent ſwimmers, they recover their bark, and in an inſtant place themſelves in their former poſture.

On the thirteenth of March they left the bay of Manta, and coaſted along ſhore, within the iſland de la Plata. On the 18th they anchored in the mouth of the river Tumbez, where they remained till the 20th; when at ſix in the morning they got under ſail, and on the 25th, at five in the evening, landed at Guiaquil, which ſtands in 2° 11′ 21″ S. Lat.

Guiaquil is of conſiderable extent, taking up, along the banks of the river from the lower part of the old town to the upper part of the new, a ſpace of near half a league; but the breadth is not at all proportional, every perſon being fond of having a houſe near the river. All the houſes of both towns are built of wood, and many of them covered with tiles; though the greateſt part of thoſe in the old town are only thatched: but in order to prevent the ſpreading of fires, by which this city has ſeverely ſuffered on ſeveral occaſions, ſuch covering is now prohibited. Moſt of theſe conflagrations owed their riſe to the malevolence of the negroes, in order to revenge ſome puniſhments inflicted on them by their maſters. As a farther precaution againſt fire, which they have ſo much reaſon to dread, the kitchens ſtand twelve or fifteen paces from the houſes; with which they communicate by means of a long open gallery, reſembling a bridge; but ſo ſlightly built, that, on the leaſt appearance of fire in the kitchen, it is demoliſhed in an inſtant: by which means the houſe is preſerved.

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four leagues and a half; and to Caracol, the landing place in winter, twenty-eight and a half.

The tides, during the ſummer-time, reach up to the cuſtom-houſe, checking the velocity of the current, and conſequently cauſing the waters to ſwell; but in winter, the current being ſtronger and more rapid, the increaſe of the water is viſible only in the reaches near Guiaquil: and in three or four different times of the year, the great velocity of the current render the tides imperceptible.

The principal cauſe of the ſwellings of this river ariſes from the torrents ruſhing down from the Cordillera. For though rain is frequent here, great part of the water is received by its lakes, or ſtagnates on the plains; ſo that the increaſe in the waters of the river are entirely owing to the torrents from the mountains.

The borders of this river, together with thoſe of its creeks and canals, are decorated with country ſeats, and cottages of poor people of all caſts, having here both the convenience of fiſhing and agriculture; and the intermediate ſpaces filled with ſuch a variety of thickets, that art would find it difficult to imitate the delightful landſcape here exhibited by nature.

The principal and moſt common materials uſed in building on theſe rivers, are canes: theſe alſo form the inward parts, as walls, floors, and rails of the ſtairs. The larger houſes differ only in ſome of the principal pieces, which are of wood. The method of building is, to fix in the earth, eight, ten, or twelve pieces of wood, more or leſs, according to the dimenſions of the houſe, forked at the top, and of a proper length; all the apartments being on the firſt ſtory, without any ground floor. Beams are then laid acroſs on theſe forks, at the diſtance of four or five yards from the ground. On theſe beams canes are laid in ſuch a manner as to form a kind of rafters; and over theſe, boards of the ſame canes, a foot and a half

and chaſe the fiſh downward, by which none of any bigneſs eſcape them. The alligators, being unable to eat under water, on ſeizing a fiſh, raiſe their heads above the ſurface. After ſatisfying their appetite, they retire to reſt on the banks of the river.

When they cannot find fiſh to appeaſe their hunger, they betake themſelves to the meadows bordering on the banks of the river, and devour calves and colts; and in order to be more ſecure in ſeizing their prey, take the opportunity of the night, that they may ſurpriſe them in their ſleep: and it is obſerved, that thoſe alligators which have once taſted fleſh, become ſo fond of it, as never to take up with fiſh, but in caſes of neceſſity. Their voracity has been often felt by the boatmen; who, by inconſiderately ſleeping with one of their arms or legs hanging over the ſide of the boat, theſe animals have ſeized, and drawn the whole body into the water. The inhabitants of thoſe places where they abound, are very induſtrious in catching and deſtroying them. Their uſual method is by a caſonate, or piece of hard wood, ſharpened at both ends, and baited with the lungs of ſome animal. This caſonate they faſten to a thong, the end of which is ſecured to the ſhore. The alligator, on ſeeing the lungs floating on the water, ſnaps at the bait; and thus both points of wood enter into his jaws in ſuch a manner, that he can neither ſhut nor open his mouth. He is then dragged aſhore, where the Indians bait him like a bull, knowing that the greateſt damage he can do, is to throw down ſuch as for want of care or agility do not keep out of his reach.

As ſoon as the French and Spaniſh artiſts arrived at Guiaquil, the corregidor diſpatched a meſſenger to the magiſtrate of Guaranda, that he might order carriages to the port of Caracol, for conveying them and their baggage to the mountains; but the paſſage being then impracticable, they were obliged to continue at Guiaquil till the ſummer, when on receiving advice that the mules provided by that magiſtrate

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and was become a neſt of moſchitos of all kinds, ſo that it was impoſſible to determine which was the worſt. Some, to avoid the torture of theſe inſects, ſtripped themſelves, and went into the river, keeping only their heads above water; but the face, being the only part expoſed, was immediately covered with them, ſo that thoſe who had recourſe to this expedient were ſoon forced to deliver up their whole bodies to theſe tormenting creatures.

On the 16th, at noon, they paſſed by a place called Memarumi, or Mother of Stone, where there is an inconceivably beautiful caſcade. The rock, from which the water precipitates itſelf, is nearly perpendicular, and fifty fathoms in height; and on both ſides bordered with lofty and ſpreading trees. The clearneſs of the fluid dazzles the ſight, which is, at the ſame time, charmed with the luſtre of the volume of water formed in its fall; after which it continues its courſe in a bed along a ſmall deſcent, and is croſſed by a road. From thence they continued their journey; and after croſſing the river twice on bridges, but with equal danger as in fording it, they arrived at two in the evening at a place called Tarigagua, where they reſted in a large ſtructure of timber, covered with yijaua leaves, built for their reception.

It muſt not be thought ſtrange to ſay, that the bridges are equally dangerous with the fords; for theſe ſtructures being all of wood, and very long, ſhake in paſſing them; beſide, their breadth is not above three feet, and without any rails, ſo that one falſe ſtep precipitates the mule into the torrent, where it is inevitably loſt: accidents, according to the report of their guides, not uncommon. Theſe bridges, by the rotting of the wood under water, are annually repaired toward winter, the only ſeaſon when they are uſed; the rivers, during the ſummer, being fordable.

At Tarigagua, the traveller often ſees inſtances of

written with regard to the fierceneſs and rapacity of this animal, our company of artiſts found from experience that they avoid a man; and on the approach of any one, immediately plunge into the water. Its whole body is covered with ſcales impenetrable to a muſket-ball, unleſs it happens to hit him in the belly, near the fore-legs, the only part vulnerable.

The alligator is an oviparous creature. The female makes a large hole in the ſand near the brink of a river, and there depoſits her eggs; which are nearly equal to thoſe of an oſtrich, and as white as thoſe of a hen, but much more ſolid. She generally lays about a hundred, continuing in the ſame place till they are all depoſited, which is a day or two. She then covers them with the ſand; and the better to conceal them, rolls herſelf, not only over her precious depoſitum, but to a conſiderable diſtance. After this precaution ſhe returns to the water, till natural inſtinct informs her, that it is time to deliver her young from their confinement, when ſhe comes to the ſpot, followed by the male, and tearing up the ſand, begins breaking the eggs; but ſo carefully, that ſcarce a ſingle one is injured, and a whole ſwarm of little alligators are ſeen crawling about. The female then takes them into the water; but the watchful gallinazos, a large bird, very common in theſe parts, make uſe of this opportunity to deprive her of ſome: and even the male alligator, who indeed comes for no other end, devours what he can, till the female has reached the water with the remaining; for all thoſe which either fall from her back, or do not ſwim, ſhe herſelf eats; ſo that out of ſuch a formidable brood, happily not more than four or five eſcape.

Theſe alligators are the great deſtroyers of the fiſh in this river, it being their moſt ſafe and general food; nor are they wanting in addreſs to ſatisfy their deſires: eight or ten, as it were by compact, draw up at the mouth of a river, or creek, whilſt others of the ſame corps go a conſiderable diſtance up the river, and

der all this road very toilſome and dangerous, being as it were ſo many obſtacles to the poor mules; though the danger is even greater in thoſe parts where they are wanting. For as the tracks are extremely ſteep and ſlippery from the ſoil, which is chalky and continually wet, ſo they would be quite impracticable, did not the Indians go before and dig little trenches acroſs the road with ſmall ſpades which they carry with them for that purpoſe: and thus both the difficulty and danger of theſe craggy paths are greatly leſſened. This work is continual; every drove requiring a repetition of it: for in leſs than a night the rain utterly deſtroys all the trenches cut by ſeveral hands the preceding day. The trouble of having people going before to mend the road, the pains ariſing from the many falls and bruiſes, and the diſagreeableneſs of being covered with dirt, and wet to the ſkin, might be the more chearfully ſupported, were they not augmented by the ſight of ſuch frightful precipices and deep abyſſes, as muſt fill the traveller's mind with terror.

The manner of deſcending from theſe heights is not leſs difficult and dangerous. In order to underſtand this, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that in theſe parts of the mountains, the exceſſive ſteepneſs will not admit of the camelones being laſting; for the waters, by the continually ſoftening the earth, waſh them away. The mules themſelves are ſenſible of the caution requiſite in theſe deſcents; for coming to the top of an eminence, they ſtop, and having placed their fore-feet cloſe together, as in a poſture of ſtopping themſelves, they alſo put their hinder-feet together, but a little forewards, as if going to lie down.

In this attitude, having as it were taken a ſurvey of the road, they ſlide down with the ſwiftneſs of a meteor. All the rider has to do is to keep himſelf faſt in the ſaddle without checking his beaſt; for the leaſt motion is ſufficient to diſorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which caſe they both unavoidably

were on the road to Caracol, they immediately embarked on the 3d of May, 1736, on board a large chata: but the uſual impediment of the current, and ſeveral unfortunate accidents, rendered the paſſage ſo very long, that they did not land at Caracol before the eleventh. The tortures they received on the river from the moſchitos were beyond imagination. The moſt diſmal night they ſpent in this paſſage, was when they came to an anchor near a large and handſome houſe, but uninhabited; for they had no ſooner ſeated themſelves in it, than they were attacked on all ſides with innumerable ſwarms of moſchitos; ſo that it was impoſſible for a perſon ſuſceptible of feeling to be one moment quiet. In ſhort, no expedient was of any uſe againſt their numbers. The ſmoke of the trees they burnt to diſperſe the infernal inſects; beſide almoſt choaking them, ſeemed rather to augment than diminiſh their multitudes. At day-break they could not without concern look upon each other; their faces were ſwelled, and their hands covered with painful tumours, which ſufficiently indicated the condition of the other parts of their bodies, expoſed to the attacks of theſe inſects. The following night they took up their quarters in a houſe inhabited, but not free from moſchitos, though in much leſs numbers than before. On informing their hoſt of the deplorable manner in which they had ſpent the preceding night, he gravely told them, that the houſe they ſo greatly complained of had been forſaken on account of its being the purgatory of a ſoul: to which one of the company wittily anſwered, that it was much more natural to think it was forſaken on account of its being a purgatory for the body.

All the road from Caracol to the Ojibar is ſo deep and boggy, that the beaſts, at every ſtep, ſunk almoſt up to their bellies; but along the banks of that river, they found it more firm and commodious. The houſe they lodged in had been for ſome time forſaken, like that already mentioned on Guiaquil river,

prodigious labour, they at laſt ſurmount the difficulty, though not without great loſs of time and damage to the goods. When, pleaſed with having got over the obſtacle themſelves, they leave the tree in the condition they found it; ſo that thoſe who follow are obliged to undergo the ſame fatigue and trouble. Thus the road, to the great detriment of trade, remains encumbered till time has deſtroyed the tree.

They now began to deſcend with more eaſe towards the province of Chimbo, attended by the provincial alcalde, and the moſt eminent perſons of the town. After complimenting them in the moſt cordial manner on their arrival, they proceeded together, and within a league of the town were met by the prieſt, a dominican, accompanied by ſeveral of his order, and a number of the inhabitants, who alſo left the town on the ſame friendly occaſion: and, to heighten the ceremony, had brought with them a troop of cholos, or Indian boys. In this manner the cavalcade entered the town, on which all the bells in the place were rung, and every houſe reſounded with the noiſe of trumpets, tabors and pipes.

On expreſſing to the corregidor their ſurpriſe at this reception, as a compliment far above their rank, he informed them that it was not at all ſingular, it being no more that what was commonly practiſed when perſons of any appearance entered the town; and that there was no ſmall emulation between the ſeveral towns in paying thoſe congratulations.

After they had paſſed the mountains beyond Pucara, the whole country within the reach of the eye during a paſſage of two leagues, was a level and open plain, having neither trees nor mountains, and covered with fields of wheat, barley, maize, and other grain, naturally gave our artiſts great pleaſure.

The corregidor entertained them in his houſe at Guaranda till the 21ſt of the ſame month, when they continued their journey to Quito; whither they arrived, without meeting with any remarkable occurrences, in a few days.

the effects of two oppoſite temperatures, in two perſons happening to meet, one of them coming from Guiaquil, and the other from the mountains: the latter finds the heat ſo great, that he is ſcarce able to bear any cloaths, while the former wraps himſelf up in all the garments he can procure. The one is ſo delighted with the warmth of the water of the river, that he bathes in it; the other thinks it ſo cold, that he avoids being ſpattered by it. Nor is the caſe very different even in the ſame perſon, who, after a journey to the mountains is returning to Guiaquil; or *vice verſa*, provided the journey and return be made at the ſame ſeaſon of the year.

At a quarter paſt nine in the morning, they began to aſcend the mountain of San Antonio, the foot of which is at Tarigagua, and at one, reached a place called by the Indians Guamac, or Croſs of Canes, where they halted.

The ruggedneſs of the road from Tarigagua leading up this mountain, is not eaſily deſcribed: it gave our artiſts more trouble and fatigue, beſide the dangers they were every moment expoſed to, than all they had experienced in their former journeys. In ſome parts the declivity is ſo great, that the mules can ſcarce keep their footing; and in others the acclivity is equally difficult. In many places the road is ſo narrow, that the mules have ſcarce room to ſet their feet; and in others a continued ſeries of precipices. Beſide, theſe roads, or rather paths, are full of holes, or camelones, near three quarters of a yard deep, in which the mules put their fore and hind feet; ſo that ſometimes they dráw their bellies and riders legs along the ground. Indeed theſe holes ſerve as ſteps, without which the precipices would be in a great meaſure impracticable But ſhould the creature happen to put his foot between two of theſe holes, or not place it right, the rider falls; and if on the ſide of the precipice, inevitably periſhes.

Theſe holes, or camelones, as they are called, render

cultivated lands, which greatly add to the proſpect from the city, being continually covered with a lively verdure. Theſe two plains contract as they approach the city; and at their junction, form a neck of land, covered with thoſe eminences, on which part of Quito ſtands. It may perhaps appear ſtrange, that notwithſtanding two ſuch beautiful and extenſive plains are ſo near the city, a ſituation ſo very inconvenient ſhould be preferred to either. But the firſt founders ſeem to have had leſs regard for convenience and beauty, than for preſerving the remembrance of their conqueſts, by building on the ſite of the ancient capital of the Indians, who made choice of ſuch places for erecting their towns; probably from their being better adapted to defence. Beſide, the Spaniards, during the infancy of their conqueſt, little imagined this place would ever increaſe to its preſent magnitude. Quito, however, was formerly in a much more flouriſhing condition than at preſent; the number of its inhabitants being conſiderably decreaſed, particularly the Indians, whole ſtreets of whoſe huts are now forſaken, and in ruins.

Pichincha, in the pagan times, was a volcano; and even ſome fiery eruptions have been known ſince the conqueſt. The mouth or aperture was in a pic, the top of which is now covered with ſand and calcined matter. At preſent no fire is ejected, nor does there any ſmoke iſſue from it. The higheſt part of Pichincha is covered with ice and ſnow, conſiderable quantities of which are brought down to the city, and mixed with the liquors drank by people of faſhion.

The principal ſquare in Quito has four ſides, in one of which ſtands the cathedral, and in the oppoſite the epiſcopal palace; the third ſide is taken up by the town-houſe; and the fourth by the palace of the audience. It is very ſpacious, and has in the center an elegant fountain. It is, indeed, rather diſfigured than adorned by the palace of the audience; which, inſtead of being kept in repair, the greateſt part of it has been ſuffered to fall into ruins; only a few halls

periſh. The addreſs of this creature is here truly wonderful; for in this rapid motion, when they ſeem to have loſt all government of themſelves, they follow exactly the different windings of the road, as if they had before accurately reconoitred and previouſly ſettled in their minds the rout they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their ſafety amidſt ſo many irregularities.

But the longeſt practice of travelling theſe roads, cannot entirely free the mules from a kind of dread or horror, which appears when they arrive at the top of a ſteep declivity: for they ſtop without being checked by the rider; and if he inadvertently endeavours to ſpur them on, they continue immoveable; nor will they ſtir from the place till they have put themſelves in the above-mentioned poſture. Now it is that they ſeem to be actuated by reaſon; for they not only attentively view the road, but tremble and ſnort at the danger; which if the rider be not accuſtomed to theſe emotions, cannot fail of filling him with terrible ideas. The Indians go before, and place themſelves along the ſides of the mountain, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beaſts with ſhouts, till they at once ſtart down the declivity.

The natural difficulty of all the roads among the mountains are increaſed by the neglect of them, which is greater than could eaſily be conceived. If a tree, for inſtance, happens to fall down acroſs the road, and ſtop up the paſſage, no perſon will be at the pains to remove it; and though all paſſing that way are put to no ſmall difficulty by ſuch an obſtacle, it is ſuffered to continue: neither the government, nor thoſe who frequent the road, taking any care to have it drawn away. Some of theſe trees are indeed ſo large, that their diameter is not leſs than a yard and a half, and conſequently fill up the whole paſſage; in which caſe the Indians hew away part of the trunk, and aſſiſt the mules to leap over what remains; but in order to this, they muſt be unloaded; and after prodi-

through whoſe hands every thing paſſes relating to the croizade.

Here is alſo a treaſury for the effects of perſons deceaſed, an inſtitution long ſince eſtabliſhed all over the Indies, for receiving the goods of thoſe whoſe heirs were in Spain, that thus they might be ſecured from thoſe accidents, to which, from diſhoneſty, or negligence, they would be liable in private hands, and ſecurely kept for the perſons to which they belong: an inſtitution, originally very excellent, but now greatly abuſed, great diminutions being made in the eſtates before they are reſtored to their proper owners.

Beſide the above-mentioned tribunals, here is alſo a commiſſary of the inquiſition, with an alguazil major, and familiars appointed by the holy office of Lima.

The cathedral chapter conſiſts of the biſhop, dean, archdeacon, chanter, treaſurer, doctoral, penitentiary, a magiſtral, three canons by preſentation, four prebends, and two demi-prebends, with conſiderable revenues. This church was erected into a cathedral in the year 1545; and among other feſtivals that are celebrated in it, with amazing magnificence, are thoſe of corpus Chriſti, and the conception of our Lady; when all the courts, offices, and perſons of eminence, never fail to aſſiſt. But the ſingular pomp of the proceſſion of the hoſt in the former, and the dances of the Indians, muſt not be omitted.

With regard to the dances; it is a cuſtom, both among the pariſhes of Quito, and all thoſe of the mountains, that the prieſt, a month before the celebration of the feaſts, ſelects a number of Indians, who are to be the dancers. Theſe immediately begin to practiſe the dances they uſed before their converſion to chriſtianity. The muſic is pipe and tabor; and the moſt extraordinary of their motions a few awkward capers: in ſhort, the whole is little to the taſte of an European. Within a few days of the ſolemnity, they dreſs themſelves in a doublet, ſhirt, and a woman's petticoat,

At the extremity of a ſpacious plain, called Tura Bamba, that is, a muddy plain, ſtands the city of Quito; on which they entered at five in the evening on the 29th. The preſident of the province, beſide providing apartments for them in the palace of the audencia, entertained them the firſt three days with great ſplendor, during which they were viſited by the biſhop, the auditor, the canons, the regidores, and all other perſons of any diſtinction, who ſeemed to vie with each other in their civilities.

Our artiſts found from accurate obſervations, that the city of Quito is ſituated in the latitude of 0 deg. 13 min. 33 ſec. ſouth, and in 298 deg. 15 min. 45 ſec. or 61 deg. 44 min. 15 ſec. weſt longitude from the meridian of Teneriffe. It ſtands in the inland parts of the continent of South America, and on the eaſtern ſkirts of the weſt Cordillera of the Andes. Its diſtance from the coaſt of the ſouth ſea is about 35 leagues weſt. Contiguous to it on the north-weſt, is the mountains and deſart of Pichincha, not leſs famous among ſtrangers for its great height, than among the natives for the great riches it is imagined to contain. The city is built on the acclivity of that mountain, and ſurrounded by others of a middling height, among the breaches, or guaycos, as they are called here, which form the eminences of Pichincha. Some of theſe breaches are of a conſiderable depth, and run quite through it, ſo that great part of the buildings ſtand upon arches. This renders the ſtreets irregular and extremely uneven, ſome parts of the city being built on the aſcents, deſcents, and ſummits of the breaches. The city with regard to magnitude, may be compared to one of the ſecond order in Europe; but the unevenneſs of its ſituation is a great diſadvantage to its appearance.

Near it are two ſpacious plains; one on the ſouth, called Zurubamba, three leagues in length; and the other on the north, termed Inna-Quito, about two leagues in extent. Both are interſperſed with ſeats and cultivated

Their firſt ſcheme for ſhelter and lodging in theſe uncomfortable regions, was to pitch a field-tent for each company; but on Pichincha this could not be done from the narrowneſs of the ſummit: they were therefore obliged to be contented with a hut ſo ſmall that they could hardly all creep into it. Nor will this appear ſtrange, if the reader conſiders the bad diſpoſition and ſmallneſs of the place, it being one of the loftieſt crags of a rocky mountain, one hundred fathoms above the higheſt part of the deſart of Pichincha. Such was the ſituation of their manſion, which, like all the other adjacent parts, ſoon became covered with ice and ſnow. The aſcent up this ſtupendous rock, from the baſe, or the place where the mules could come, to their habitation, was ſo craggy as only to be climbed on foot; and to perform it coſt them four hours continual labour and pain, from the violent efforts of the body, and the ſubtility of the air; the latter being ſuch as to render reſpiration difficult.

The ſtrange manner of living to which our artiſts were reduced during the time they were employed in a geometrical menſuration of ſome degrees of the meridian, may not perhaps prove unentertaining to the reader; and therefore the following account is given as a ſpecimen of it. The deſart of Pichincha, both with regard to the operations performed there, and its inconveniencies, differing very little from others, an idea may be very eaſily formed of the fatigues, hardſhips, and dangers to which they were continually expoſed during the time they were proſecuting the enterprize, with the conduct of which they had been honoured. The principal difference between the ſeveral deſarts conſiſted in their greater or leſſer diſtance from places where they could procure proviſions; and in the inclemency of the weather, which was proportionate to the height of the mountains, and the ſeaſon of the year.

They generally kept within their hut. Indeed they were obliged to do this, both on account of the intenſeneſs

and offices being taken any care of. The principal ſtreets are paved; but thoſe which are not, are almoſt impaſſible after rain, which is here very common.

Beſide the principal ſquare, there are two others in Quito, and both very ſpacious, together with ſeveral others that are ſmaller. In theſe the greateſt part of the convents are ſituated, and thence make a very handſome appearance; the fronts and portals of thoſe edifices dedicated to religion, being adorned with all the embelliſhments of architecture, particularly the convent of the order of Franciſcans, which being wholly of free ſtone, muſt have coſt a prodigious ſum. The cathedral, beſide the richneſs of its furniture, is ſplendidly adorned with tapeſtry hangings, and other coſtly decorations; but in this reſpect the other pariſh-churches are ſo mean, as to have ſcarce neceſſaries for performing divine worſhip. Some of them are without pavements; and every other particular is of a piece with that mark of poverty.

Among the courts, whoſe ſeſſions are held at Quito, the principal is that of the royal audience, which was eſtabliſhed there in the year 1563; and conſiſts of a preſident, (who is alſo governor of the province with regard to matters of law) four auditors, who are at the ſame time civil and criminal judges, and a royal fiſcal, ſo called, as beſide the cauſes brought before the audience, he alſo takes cognizance of every thing relating to the revenue of the crown. Beſide this, there is alſo another fiſcal called Protector de los Indios, "Protector of the Indians," who ſolicits for them, and, when injured, pleads in their defence. The juriſdiction of this court extends to the utmoſt limits of the province with no other appeal than to the council of the Indies, and this only in caſe of a rejection of a petition, or flagrant injuſtice.

The tribunal de cruzada, or croizade, has a commiſſary, who is generally ſome dignitary of the church, and a treaſurer, who is alſo the accomptant, and through

ſome ſmall diſtance, and at others, amuſed themſelves with rolling large fragments of rocks down the precipice; and theſe frequently required the joint ſtrength of them all, though they often ſaw the ſame effected by the mere force of the wind. But they always took care in their excurſions not to go far out, but that on the leaſt appearance of the clouds gathering about their cottage, which often happened very ſuddenly, they could regain their ſhelter. The door of their hut was faſtened with thongs of leather, and on the inſide not the ſmalleſt crevice was left unſtopped; beſide which it was very compactly covered with ſtraw: but notwithſtanding all their care, the wind penetrated through. The days were often little better than the nights; and all the light they enjoyed was that of a lamp or two, which they kept continually burning.

Though their hut was ſmall, and crouded with inhabitants, beſide the heat of the lamps, yet the intenſeneſs of the cold was ſuch, that every one of them was obliged to have a chafing-diſh of coals. Theſe precautions would have rendered the rigour of the climate ſupportable, had not the imminent danger of periſhing by being blown down the precipice, rouſed them every time it ſnowed, to encounter the ſeverity of the outward air, and ſally out with ſhovels to free the roof of their hut from the maſſes of ſnow which were gathering on it. Nor would it without this precaution, have been able to ſupport the weight. They were not indeed without ſervants and Indians; but theſe were ſo benumbed with the cold, that it was with great difficulty they could get them out of a ſmall tent, where they kept a continual fire. So that all our artiſts could obtain from them was to take their turns in this labour; and even then they went very unwillingly about it, and conſequently performed it ſlowly.

It may eaſily be conceived what this company ſuffered from the aſperities of ſuch a climate. Their

feet

petticoat, adorned in the fineſt manner poſſible. Over their ſtockings they wear a ſort of pinked buſkins, on which are faſtened a great number of bells. Their head and face they cover with a ſort of maſk, formed of ribbands of ſeveral colours. Dreſſed in this fantaſtical garb, they proudly call themſelves angels, unite in companies of eight or ten, and ſpend the whole day in roving about the ſtreets, highly delighted with the gingling of their bells; and frequently ſtop to dance, to gain the applauſes of the ignorant multitude, who are ſtrangers to elegant dancing. But what is really ſurpriſing, is, that without any pay, or view of intereſt, unleſs they think it a religious duty, they continue this exerciſe a whole fortnight before the grand feſtival, and a month after it, without minding either their labour or families. The ſame dreſs is worn by them in other proceſſions, and at the bull feaſts, when they are excuſed from labour, and therefore highly pleaſed with them.

Soon after our artiſts arrived at Quito, they determined to continue the ſeries of the triangles for meaſuring an arch of the meridian to the S. of that city: the company accordingly divided themſelves into two bodies, conſiſting of French and Spaniards, and each retired to the part aſſigned them. Don George Juan and M. Godin, who were at the head of one party, went to the mountain of Pambamarca; while M. Bouguer, de la Condamine, and Don Ulloa, together with their aſſiſtants, climbed up to the higheſt ſummit of Pichincha. Both parties ſuffered extremely, both from the ſeverity of the cold, and the impetuoſity of the winds, which on theſe heights blow with inceſſant violence; difficulties the more painful, as they had been little uſed to ſuch ſenſations. Thus in the torrid zone, nearly under the equinoctial, where it is natural ſo ſuppoſe they had moſt to fear from the heat, their greateſt pain was cauſed by the exceſſiveneſs of the cold.

Their

ſible to go in or out without ſtooping; and as every night the hail and ſnow which had fallen, formed a wall againſt the door, it was the buſineſs of one or two of the Indians to come early and remove this obſtruction. For though the Negro ſervants were lodged in a little tent, their hands and feet were ſo covered with chilblains, that they would rather have ſuffered themſelves to have been killed than move. The Indians therefore came conſtantly up to diſpatch this work betwixt nine or ten in the morning; but they had not been there above four or five days, when they were not a little alarmed to ſee ten, eleven, and twelve come, without any news of their labourers: when they were relieved by the honeſt ſervant mentioned above, who had withſtood the ſeduction of his countrymen, and informed his maſters of the deſertion of the four others. As ſoon as the ſnow was cleared away from the door, they diſpatched the Indian to the corregidor of Quito, who with equal diſpatch ſent other Indians, threatening to chaſtiſe them ſeverely if they were wanting in their duty.

But the fear of puniſhment was not ſufficient to induce them to ſupport the rigour of this ſituation; for within two days they deſerted. The corregidor therefore, to prevent any other inconvenience, ſent four Indians under the care of an alcalde, and gave orders for their being relieved every fourth day.

Twenty-three tedious days our artiſts ſpent on this rock, viz. to the 6th of September, and even without any poſſibility of finiſhing their obſervations of the angles; for when it was fair and clear weather with them, the others on whoſe ſummits the ſignals which formed the triangles for meaſuring the degrees of the meridian, were hid in the clouds; and when thoſe were clear, Pichincha was involved in clouds. It was therefore neceſſary to erect their ſignals in a lower ſituation, and in a more favourable region. This however did not produce any change in their habitation till the beginning of December; when having

finiſhed

finiſhed the obſervations which particularly concerned Pichincha, they proceeded to others; but with no abatement either of inconveniencies, cold, or fatigue: for the places where they made their obſervations being neceſſarily on the higheſt parts of the deſarts; the only reſpite in which they enjoyed ſome little eaſe, was during the ſhort interval of paſſing from one to the other.

In all their ſtations ſubſequent to that on Pichincha, during their fatiguing menſuration of the degrees of the meridian, each company lodged in a field-tent, which, though ſmall, they found leſs inconvenient than the hut on Pichincha; though at the ſame time they had more trouble, being oftener obliged to clear it from the ſnow, as the weight of it would otherwiſe have demoliſhed the tent. At firſt, indeed, they pitched it in the moſt ſheltered places; but on taking a reſolution that the tents themſelves ſhould ſerve for ſignals, to prevent the inconvenience of having others of wood, they removed them to a more expoſed ſituation, where the impetuoſity of the winds ſometimes tore up the piquets, and blew them down.

From what has been obſerved, it will follow, that, in order to form a right judgment of the happy temperature of the air at Quito, experience muſt correct the errors which would ariſe from mere ſpeculation: as without that unerring guide, or the information of hiſtory, who would imagine, that in the centre of the torrid zone, or rather under the equinoctial, not only the heat is very tolerable, but even, in ſome parts, the cold painful? and that others enjoy all the delights and advantages of a perpetual ſpring, their fields being always covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the moſt lively colours? The mildneſs of the climate, free from the extremes of cold and heat, and the conſtant equality of the nights and days, render a country, which was anciently concluded to be uninhabitable, pleaſant and fertile. Nature has here ſcattered her bleſſings with ſo liberal a hand, that

this country ſurpaſſes thoſe of the temperate zones, where the viciſſitudes of winter and ſummer, and change from heat to cold, cauſe the extremes of both to be more ſenſibly felt.

The method taken by Nature to render this country a delightful habitation, conſiſts in an aſſemblage of circumſtances, of which, if any were wanting, it would either be utterly uninhabitable, or ſubject to the greateſt inconveniencies. The principal circumſtance is its elevated ſituation, and thus not only the reflection of the heat is diminiſhed, but by the elevation of this country, the winds are more ſubtile, and congelation more natural. Theſe are ſuch natural effects as muſt doubtleſs be attributed to its ſituation; and is the only circumſtance from whence ſuch different temperatures as are obſerved here, can proceed.

The fertility of this country, if fully deſcribed, would appear to many incredible, did not the conſideration of the equality and benignity of the climate inforce its probability. For both the degrees of cold and heat are ſo happily determined, that the moiſture continues, and the earth ſeldom fails of being cheriſhed by the fertilizing beams of the ſun ſome part of every day: therefore it is no wonder that this country ſhould enjoy a greater degree of fertility than thoſe where the ſame cauſes do not concur; eſpecially if we conſider, that there is no ſenſible difference throughout the year; ſo that the fruits and beauties of the ſeveral ſeaſons are here ſeen at the ſame time.

Though all this is generally ſeen, yet there is a ſettled time for the grand harveſt. But ſometimes the moſt favourable ſeaſon for ſowing in one place, is a month or two after that of another, though their diſtance is not more than three or four leagues; and the time for another at the ſame diſtance not then arrived. Thus, in different ſpots, ſometimes in one and the ſame, ſowing and reaping are performed throughout the whole year; the forwardneſs or retardment naturally ariſing from the different ſituations, as moun-

feet were ſwelled, and ſo tender, that they could not even bear the heat; and walking was attended with extreme pain. Their hands were covered with chilblains; their lips ſwelled and chopped; ſo that every motion in ſpeaking or the like, drew blood: conſequently they were obliged to ſtrict taciturnity, and little diſpoſed to laugh, as by cauſing an extenſion of the lips, it produced ſuch fiſſures as were very painful for two or three days after.

Their common food in this unhoſpitable region was a little rice boiled with ſome fleſh or fowl, procured from Quito; and inſtead of fluid water their pot was filled with ice; they had the ſame reſource with regard to what they drank: and while they were eating, every one was obliged to keep his plate over a chafing-diſh of coals, to prevent his proviſions from freezing. The ſame was done with regard to the water. At firſt they imagined the drinking ſtrong liquors would diffuſe a heat through the body, and, conſequently, render it leſs ſenſible of the painful ſharpneſs of the cold; but to their ſurpriſe, they felt no manner of ſtrength in ſuch liquors: nor were they any greater preſervative againſt the cold than the common water.

At the ſame time they found it impoſſible to keep the Indians together. On their firſt feeling of the climate, their thoughts were immediately turned on deſerting their maſters. The firſt inſtance they had of this kind was ſo unexpected, that had not one of a better diſpoſition than the reſt ſtaid and acquainted them of their deſign, it might have proved of very bad conſequence. The affair was this: there being on the top of the rock no room for pitching a tent for the Indians, they uſed every evening to retire to a cave at the foot of the mountain; where, beſide a natural diminution of the cold, they could keep a continual fire; and, conſequently, enjoyed more comfortable quarters than their maſters. Before they withdrew at night, they faſtened on the outſide, the door of the hut, which was ſo low that it was impoſ-

the whole country through which the road lies is entirely waſte, part of it being overflowed by the tides, and the other part dead ſands, which reflect the rays of the ſun ſo intenſely, as to render it neceſſary in general to perform this journey in the night; for travelling ſeven leagues thither, and as many back, without either water or fodder, is much too laborious for the mules to undergo in the day-time.

Near Tumbez is a river of the ſame name, which diſcharges itſelf into the bay of Guiaquil, almoſt oppoſite to the iſland of St. Clare. Barks, boats, balzas, and canoes may go up and down this river, it being three fathoms deep, and twenty-five broad; but it is dangerous to go up it in the winter ſeaſon, the impetuoſity of its current being then increaſed by torrents from the mountains. At a ſmall diſtance from the Cordillera, on one ſide of the banks of the river, ſtands the little town of Tumbez, in a very ſandy plain, interſperſed with ſome eminences. The whole country, from the town of Tumbez to Lima, contained between the foot of the Cordillera and the ſea, is known by the name of Valles.

Tumbez was the place where, in the year 1526, the Spaniards firſt landed in theſe parts of South-America, under the command of Don Franciſco Pizarro.

Along the delightful banks of the river, ſo far as the water is conveyed, maize, and all other fruits and vegetables that are natives of a hot climate, are produced in the greateſt plenty; and in the more diſtant parts, which are deſtitute of this advantage, grows a kind of leguminous tree, called algarrobale, producing a bean, which ſerves as food for all kinds of cattle.

The journey from Tumbez to Piura was performed in 54 hours, excluſive of thoſe when they reſted; ſo that the mules, which always travel one conſtant pace, go ſomething above a league an hour. To the town of Amotape, the only inhabited place in the whole road, is forty-eight leagues. The remaining

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On the 21ſt our artiſts continued their journey, and next day reached the town of Sechura, ten leagues diſtant from Piura. The whole country between theſe two places is a level ſandy deſart, and greatly fatiguing to the mules.

The town of Sechura is the laſt in the juriſdiction of Piura; and its inhabitants not only refuſe to furniſh paſſengers with mules, but alſo will not ſuffer any perſon, of whatever rank, to continue his journey, without producing the corregidor's paſſport. The intention of this ſtrictneſs is to ſuppreſs all abuſes in trade; for there being beſide this road which leads to the deſart, only one called the Rodeo, one of them muſt be taken; if that of the deſart, mules muſt be hired at Sechura to carry water for the uſe of the loaded mules when they have performed half their journey.

On the 24th they left Sechura, and croſſed the deſart, making only ſome ſhort ſtops for the eaſe of their beaſts, arriving the next day at five in the evening at the town of Monope, twenty-eight or thirty leagues diſtant from Sechura, though falſely computed more by the natives. The extent and uniform aſpect of this plain, together with the continual motion of the ſand, which ſoon effaces all tracks, often bewilders the moſt experienced guides, who however ſhew their ſkill in ſoon recovering the right way; for which they make uſe of two expedients: the firſt is to obſerve to keep the wind directly in their faces, and the reverſe at their return; for the ſouth winds being conſtant here,

tains, riſing grounds, plains, valleys, and breaches; and the temperature being different in each of theſe, the times for performing the ſeveral operations of huſbandry muſt alſo differ. Nor is this any contradiction to what has before been advanced, relative to this fruitful and fortunate country.

Moſt of the villages on the ſides of the mountains are built with very little regularity; the principal part of them is the church and parſonage, which they call the convent, from the prieſts being all formerly religious. Theſe ſtructures have ſome appearance of decency, but the other parts of the village conſiſt of a number of huts, with mud walls, ſcattered all over the country.

While the Spaniſh artiſts were employed in meaſuring an arch of the meridian in the province of Quito, they received a letter from the vice-roy of Peru, ordering them to repair immediately to Lima, where their aſſiſtance was thought neceſſary, in order to defeat any deſigns of the Engliſh, who were expected to appear ſoon in the South ſeas.

They readily obeyed the order of the vice-roy, and having furniſhed themſelves with neceſſaries at Quito, ſet out from that city on the 30th of October, and determined to go by Guaranda and Guiaquil; for though there is a road by land through Cuenca and Loja, yet the other ſeemed the moſt expeditious, as the ways are neither ſo bad, nor mules and other beaſts of carriage ſo difficult to be met with.

They reached the Salto on the 7th at night. It is a place which ſerves as a kind of harbour for boats and ſmall veſſels, and is ſituated at the head of ſome creeks, or arms of the ſea, between fourteen and ſixteen leagues from the coaſt, but entirely deſtitute of inhabitants, no freſh water being found in any part of the adjacent country, ſo that it only ſerves for landing goods conſigned to Tumbez.

On the 9th in the morning they reached the town of Tumbez, ſituated ſeven leagues from the Salto; the

ſo much as one ſtory. The corregidor of the whole department reſides in this city.

In this climate there is a ſenſible difference between winter and ſummer, the former being attended with cold, and the latter with exceſſive heat. The country of this whole valley is extremely fruitful, ſo that the inhabitants enjoy not only a plenty of all kinds of proviſions, but alſo make conſiderable exports to Panama, eſpecially of wheat and ſugars. About a league from the city is a river, whoſe waters are conducted by various canals through this delightful country. They forded it on the 4th when they left Truxillo; and on the 5th, after paſſing through Moche, came to Biru, ten leagues from Truxillo.

On the 6th they halted in a deſart place called Tambo de Chao, and afterward came to the banks of the river Santa; which having paſſed by means of the Chimbadores, they entered the town of the ſame name, which lies at about a quarter of a league from it, and fifteen from Biru; the road being chiefly over vaſt ſandy plains, intercepted between two hills.

The river Santa, at the place where it is uſually forded, is near a quarter of a league in breadth, forming five principal ſtreams, which run during the whole year with great rapidity. It is always forded, and for this purpoſe perſons make it their buſineſs to attend with very high horſes, trained up to ſtem the current, which is very ſtrong. They are called Chimbadores; and muſt have an exact knowledge of the ford, in order to guide the loaded mules in their paſſage, as otherwiſe the fording this river would be ſcarce practicable, the floods often ſhifting the beds of the river, ſo that even the Chimbadores themſelves are not always ſafe.

Leaving this town on the 8th, they proceeded on their journey, and paſſed through ſeveral places of no conſiderable note; and without meeting with any thing worth remarking, until they had at length the pleaſure of entering the city of Lima.

part is one continued deſart. The mules are allowed two or three hours reſt, when they ſeem quite ſpent, or at places where water is near.

The town of Amotape, which ſtands in 4 deg. 51 min. 43 ſec. ſouth latitude, is an appendix to the pariſh of Tumbez, belonging to its lieutenancy, and in the juriſdiction of Piura. The houſes are about thirty in number, and compoſed of the ſame materials with thoſe of Tumbez; but the inhabitants are only Indians and Meſtizos. A quarter of a league from it is a river of the ſame name, and whoſe waters are of ſuch prodigious uſe to the country, that it is every where cultivated, and divided into fields, producing plenty of the ſeveral grains, excellent vegetables and fruits, natural to a hot climate, but like Tumbez is infeſted with moſchitos. This river in ſummer may be forded, but in winter, when the torrents deſcend from the mountains, it muſt be croſſed in a balza.

From what has been ſaid, the difficulties of travelling this road may be conceived. Beſides, as far as Amotape, not only all kinds of proviſions muſt be carried, but even water, and the requiſites for kindling a fire, unleſs your proviſions conſiſts of cold meat. In this laſt ſtage is a mine of cope, a kind of mineral tar, great quantities of which, for its cheapneſs, are carried to Callas, and other parts, being uſed in ſhips inſtead of naphtha, but has the ill quality of burning the cordage.

The city of Piura, which is at preſent the capital of its juriſdiction, was the firſt Spaniſh ſettlement in Peru. It was founded in the year 1531, by Don Franciſco Pizarro, who alſo built the firſt church in it. The latitude of it is 5 deg. 11 min. 1 ſec. ſouth. The houſes are either of bricks dried in the ſun, or a kind of reeds called quinchas, and few of them have any ſtory. Here the corregidor reſides, whoſe juriſdiction extends in one ſide along the Valles, and on the other among the mountains. It has a river of great

great advantage to the inhabitants, as well as the adjacent country, the ſoil of which is ſandy, and therefore eaſier penetrated by the water; and being level, the water is conveyed to different parts by canals: but in the ſummer the river is abſolutely deſtitute of water, the little which deſcends from the mountains being abſorbed before it reaches the city; ſo that the inhabitants have no other method of procuring water, but by digging wells in the bed of the river.

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kinds of grain, and a prodigious variety of fruits. Here induſtry and art ſupply that moiſture which the clouds ſeem to with-hold; and the ſoil is by this means rendered remarkably fruitful, amidſt a continual drought.

One of the principal cares of the incas, was the cutting and diſpoſing, in the moſt advantageous manner, trenches or ſmall canals, in order to conduct the waters of the rivers to nouriſh every part, and render large fields capable of producing grain. The Spaniards finding theſe uſeful works ready executed to their hands, took care to keep them in the ſame order; and by theſe are watered the ſpacious fields of wheat and barley, large meadows, plantations of ſugar-canes, and olive-trees, vineyards and gardens of all kinds; all yielding uncommon plenty. Lima differs from Quito, where the fruits of the year have no determined ſeaſons; but here the harveſts are gathered in, and the trees drop their leaves, according to their reſpective natures.

The country contiguous to the city is covered with gardens, producing all the herbs and fruits known in Spain, and of the ſame goodneſs and beauty, beſides thoſe common to America. The ſoil is ſtony and ſandy. The arable lands have a ſtratum of about a foot or two of earth, but below that the whole conſiſts entirely of ſtones. From this circumſtance, the ſimilarity of all the neighbouring waſtes, and the bottom of the ſea, this whole ſpace may be concluded to have been formerly covered by the ocean, to the diſtance of three or four leagues, or even farther, beyond its preſent limits.

The rocks in the moſt inland part of the bay are perforated, and ſmoothed like thoſe waſhed by the waves; a ſufficient proof that the ſea formed thoſe large cavities, and undermined ſuch prodigious maſſes as lie on the ground by its continual eliſions; and it ſeems natural to think that the like muſt have happened in the country contiguous to Lima, and that

the parts, conſiſting of pebbles like thoſe at the bottom of the adjacent ſea, were formerly covered by the water.

Another ſingularity in this arid country, is the abundance of ſprings, water being found every where with little labour, by digging only about four or five feet below the ſurface.

The lands in the juriſdiction of Chancay, like the other parts of the coaſts of Peru, are manured with the dung of certain ſea-birds, which abound here in a very extraordinary manner. Theſe they call Guanoes, and the dung Guano, the Indian name for excrement in general. Theſe birds, after ſpending the whole day in catching their food in the ſea, repair at night to reſt on the iſlands near the coaſt; and their number being ſo great as entirely to cover the ground, they leave a proportionable quantity of excrement or dung; this is dried by the heat of the ſun into a cruſt, and is daily increaſing, ſo that notwithſtanding great quantities are taken away, it is never exhauſted. This is the manure uſed in the fields ſowed with maize, and with proper watering is found greatly to fertilize the ſoil, a little of it being put cloſe to every ſtem, and immediately watered. It is alſo of uſe in fields of other grain, except wheat and barley, and conſequently prodigious quantities of it yearly uſed in agriculture.

One aſtoniſhing particular in the walls of this town, and in all other neighbouring valleys, is, that though built on the ſurface of the earth, without any foundation, they have withſtood thoſe violent earthquakes which overthrew the more ſolid buildings of Lima, and other large towns erected in the Spaniſh manner; having received no other damage than what naturally reſults from being forſaken, or what the drivers have done, who make it a reſting-place for their cattle in their road to Lima.

During our artiſts ſtay at Lima, they laboured inceſſantly to put the country in the beſt poſture of de-

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From the diſtances carefully ſet down during the whole courſe of this journey, it appears, that from Tumbez to Piura is 62 leagues; from Piura to Truxillo 89, and from Truxillo to Lima 113; in all 264 leagues. The greateſt part of this long journey is generally performed by night; for the whole country being one continued ſand, the reflection of the ſun's rays is ſo violent, that were they to travel by day, the mules would be overcome by the heat, want of water, and herbage.

The city of Lima is ſituated in the ſpacious and delightful valley of Rimac, an Indian word, and the true name of the city itſelf, from a corrupt pronunciation of which word the Spaniards have derived Lima. Rimac is the name by which both the valley and the river are ſtill called. This appellation is derived from an idol to which the native Indians uſed to offer ſacrifice; as did alſo the incas, after they had extended their empire hither: and as it was ſuppoſed to return anſwers to the prayers addreſſed to it, they called it by way of diſtinction Rimac, or, he who ſpeaks. Lima, according to ſeveral obſervations made by our artiſts for that purpoſe, ſtands in the latitude of 12 deg. 2 min. 3 ſec. ſouth; and its longitude is 60 deg. 32 min. 58 ſec. weſt, from the meridian of Teneriffe.

Its ſituation is one of the moſt advantageous that can be imagined; for being in the centre of that ſpacious valley, it commands the whole without any difficulty. Northward, though at a conſiderable diſtance, is the Cordillera, or chain of the Andes; from whence ſome hills project into the valley, the neareſt of which to the city are thoſe of St. Chriſtopher and Amancaes.

The river, which is of the ſame name, waſhes the walls of Lima, and when not increaſed by the torrents from the mountains is eaſily forded; but at other times, beſide the increaſe of its breadth, its depth and rapidity render fording impoſſible: accordingly a very elegant and ſpacious ſtone bridge is built over it, having

Beſide the congreſſes held with theſe Indians, for concluding a treaty of peace, others are held on the arrival of a new preſident, and the ſame ceremonies obſerved in both.

On theſe occaſions a kind of fair is held at both camps, great numbers of Spaniards repairing thither with ſuch goods as they know will pleaſe the Indians; who alſo come with their ponchos and cattle. Both parties deal by exchange, and never fail ſelling their whole ſtocks; or of obſerving in their dealings the moſt exact candour and regularity, as a ſpecimen in which all future commerce is to be conducted.

Soon after our artiſts arrived in the bay of Conception, they joined the Eſperanza, a Spaniſh man of war, commanded by Don Pedro Mendinueta, who had found means to double Cape Horn, and reach the bay of Conception. In a few days they received advice that Don Joſeph Pizarro was arrived over land from Buenos Ayres, and intended to hoiſt his flag on board the Eſperanza. On which they ſailed for Valparaiſo, where the commodore came on board, and took upon him the command of the ſquadron. In this port they found three French ſhips, called the Louis Eraſme, Notredame de la Deliverance, and the Lys, which had been freighted as regiſter-ſhips, and touched at Valparaiſo to vend their cargoes.

The whole fleet now ſailed for the iſland of Juan Fernandes, and thence to Callao, where they arrived on the 24th of June.

Our artiſts now repaired once more to Quito, where they finiſhed their obſervations, and then returned to Lima, in order to procure a paſſage from thence to Spain. They found at Callao two of the French ſhips above-mentioned, namely the Deliverance and the Lys, preparing for a voyage to Europe. This was an opportunity not to be omitted; and accordingly Don George Juan embarked in the latter, and Don Antonio de Ulloa in the former.

They left the port of Callao on the 22d of October, and on the 22d of November joined the Louis Eraſme, which with another French regiſter-ſhip, called the Marquis d'Antin, had waited for them in the bay of Conception. Their little ſquadron being thus formed, they left the bay; but the next day the Lys ſprung a leak, and was obliged to return. The reſt of the ſquadron had the good fortune to double Cape Horn, without meeting with thoſe terrible ſtorms ſo frequent near that Cape.

On the 21ſt of May 1744, they came to an anchor in the road of Ferdinando de Narona, an iſland on the coaſt of Brazil, belonging to the Portugueſe. Here they refitted their crazy ſhips, and took on board a freſh ſupply of proviſions, wood and water. On the 10th of June, at ten in the morning, they again got under ſail, and continued their courſe to the northward, comforting themſelves that now the whole danger of their voyage was over. But on the 21ſt of July, about ſix in the morning, being then in 43 deg. 57 min. north latitude, and 39 deg. 44 min. eaſt of the meridian of Conception, they diſcovered two ſail within three leagues of them, bearing E. N. E. At ſeven in the morning, when being within little more than cannon-ſhot of each other, the largeſt of the two fired a ſhot, and at the ſame time both hoiſted Engliſh colours: the French frigates alſo formed a line, though little in a condition for fighting; for beſide being weakly manned, and the want of arms and ammunition, they had no nettings for ſecuring the men.

The force of the three French frigates was this: the Louis Eraſme carried twenty guns, and had between ſeventy and eighty perſons on board, ſeamen, paſſengers and boys; the Marquis d'Antin alſo carried ten guns on a ſide, and had aboard fifty-five perſons; La Deliverance was ſtill ſmaller than theſe two, having only ſeven on a ſide, and aboard did not exceed fifty men.

The enemy, who afterward proved to be privateers, were conſiderably ſuperior in force. The largeſt of them, called the Prince Frederick, commanded by captain James Talbot, carried thirty-ſix guns; the name of the ſmalleſt privateer was the Duke, captain Morecock; ſhe had ten guns on a ſide, beſide patereroes on both, which did great execution in the rigging. At length, about half an hour after ten, the Marquis d'Antin, which was in the rear, ſtruck to the largeſt of the enemy, with which ſhe was engaged, after loſing her captain: having received ſo many ſhot betwixt wind and water, that ſhe was on the point of ſinking.

The captain of the Deliverance, which was the headmoſt ſhip, ſeeing one of her company taken, prudently crouded ſail, that while the enemy's ſhips were taken up with the prize, he might eſcape from them. Louis Eraſme could not heſitate to follow her example; but the largeſt of the Engliſh privateers was not long in coming up with her, and by the ſuperiority of her force, and the vigour with which it was exerted, ſoon laid her under a neceſſity of ſurrendering. The two privateers being taken up each with her prize, and the ſouth-eaſt wind freſhening, favoured the eſcape of the Deliverance, which ſtood N. E. and at four in the evening got quite out of ſight both of the privateers and prizes.

The captain of the Deliverance, after this, in all appearance, fortunate eſcape, conſulted with his officers what courſe was moſt adviſeable to ſteer. Among them was one who had often been at Louiſbourg in the iſland of Cape Breton, near Newfoundland, and had a perfect knowledge of the ſituation and nature of the place. He likewiſe informed the captain, that in the beginning of the ſummer two men of war were every year ſent thither, to carry money and troops for that place and Canada; and likewiſe to protect the cod-fiſhery. Theſe reaſons, and

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the coaſt of Spain, determined the captain to purſue what he thought the ſafeſt method, and make for Cape Breton: beſide, the condition of the Deliverance ſcarce permitted of any choice, as affording little hopes that ſhe ever would be able to reach any port in Spain. But that the captain and his officers might not be charged with taking ſuch an important ſtep of themſelves, a repreſentation was alſo made to the paſſengers, who all readily approved of it as the beſt reſource in their preſent exigency; the very ſame evening the courſe was altered, and they ſteered for Louiſbourg as a port of ſafety.

On the 13th of Auguſt, at ſix in the morning, they ſaw a brigantine plying along the coaſt for Louiſbourg; the Deliverance on this hoiſted a French enſign, which was anſwered by the other, firing two or three guns. This gave them no manner of uneaſineſs, concluding, that the brigantine, ſuſpecting ſome deceit in their colours, had fired thoſe guns as a warning to the fiſhing barks without to get into the harbour. An hour afterward, being near eight o'clock, they ſaw coming out of Louiſbourg two men of war, which they immediately took for ſhips belonging to a French ſquadron ſtationed there, for the ſecurity of that important place; and that they had come out on this ſignal from the brigantine, that a ſhip had appeared in ſight, leſt it might be ſome Boſton privateer, with a deſign on the fiſhery. Here we muſt refer to the reader's imagination, the complacency and joy which ſwelled every heart, imagining that they now ſaw the end of all their fears and diſaſters; a place of ſafe repoſe, after a voyage of ſuch danger and fatigue. Then let him think what an edge the melancholy diſappointment gave to their aſtoniſhment and dejection, when their viſionary ſchemes of delight ended in the real miſeries of captivity: that place being then in the hands of the Engliſh.

The ſmalleſt veſſel, which carried fifty guns, leading the way, came along-ſide of the Deliverance; then indeed

indeed the fatal diſappointment became too evident, by the ſhip hoiſting her national colours, and firing ſeveral guns, which carried away the fore-topſail-halliards; and at the ſame time the larger ſhip came up on the ſtarboard-ſide. Betwixt two ſuch enemies reſiſtance would have been a wild temerity; the captain immediately ſtruck his colours, and the boat from the ſmalleſt ſhip came on board, and took poſſeſſion of the Deliverance; and returned into the harbour with a very rich prize.

Theſe two Engliſh men of war were the Sunderland, captain John Brett, of ſixty guns, and the Cheſter, captain Philip Durell, of fifty.

Don Ulloa adds, that all his ſecret papers, on their departure from the iſland of Fernando de Norona, were formed into a packet, and that he had deſired of the captain, the ſupercargo and other officers, that in caſe it was his fate to fall ſuddenly in the action, they would throw the parcel into the ſea. When therefore the Spaniſh officer found that there was no poſſibility either of oppoſing or getting clear of the enemy, he threw the packet overboard, after faſtening ſome bullets to it; but all his papers relating to the menſuration of the degrees of the meridian, together with the phyſical and aſtronomical obſervations and hiſtorical narratives, he kept by him, the contents being of univerſal concern, and no detriment could reſult from the enemy's inſpecting them. But as among men who ſeemed to mind nothing but what was ſilver or gold, they would have ran a great riſk of being abuſed or confounded among a multitude of others, he thought proper to acquaint the captains on what ſervice he had been employed; and as his papers tended to the improvement of navigation, recommended them to their care.

Don Ulloa was ſent with the fleet to England, and thence to Fareham, a pleaſant village at the bottom of Portſmouth harbour, where the priſoners of war were then confined. "I muſt not, ſays Don Ulloa,

" here omit the courteſy and generoſity of captain " Brett, commander of the Sunderland, to all the " priſoners of any rank, whom he not only admitted " to his table during the voyage, but prevailed on all " the other officers to imitate his good example; and " who ſeemed to vie in civilities toward us, and " humanity toward the inferior ſort: ſparing for " nothing to alleviate our misfortunes."

Our author was committed to the care of Mr. Brookes, commiſſary for the French priſoners, and paints his gratitude for the many favours he received from that gentleman; and alſo from Mr. Rickman, who acted in the ſame capacity for the Spaniards, in the moſt glowing colours.

" Both theſe gentlemen, adds he, offered to join " their intereſt in ſolliciting the admiralty for my pa- " pers, the thing I had moſt at heart." A petition was accordingly ſent to his grace the duke of Bedford, then firſt lord of the admiralty, and the anſwer returned was agreeable to his wiſhes: the lords of the admiralty adding, that they were not at war with the arts and ſciences, or their profeſſors; that the Engliſh nation cultivated them, and that it was the glory of its miniſters and great men to encourage and protect them.

Soon after our author obtained permiſſion to repair to London, that he might renew his ſollicitations with greater eaſe and effect. " On my firſt attendance at " the office for priſoners of war, ſays Don Ulloa, a " letter was ſhewn me from lord Harrington, ſecretary " of ſtate, for bringing me to his houſe. This noble- " man, having been ambaſſador for ſome years in " Spain, among his other eminent qualities, had a " great affection for the Spaniards, which he was " pleaſed to extend to me in a moſt obliging recep- " tion, and aſſurances, that nothing ſhould be want- " ing in him to procure me my papers, or do me any " other good office. Martin Folkes, Eſq; then pre- " ſident of the Royal Society, a perſon equally dif-

" tinguiſhed

" tinguiſhed for his learning, politeneſs, and readineſs
" to do every good action in his power, being in-
" formed I was a priſoner at Fareham, and that my
" papers were lodged at the admiralty, and fearing
" they might fall into the hands of perſons entirely
" ignorant of their contents, and by that means be
" miſled or abuſed, had applied for having them de-
" livered to him——but they were unhappily ming-
" led with many others of a very different kind, and
" therefore difficult to ſeparate them, without the
" preſence of the author himſelf, to diſtinguiſh them
" by the hand and other marks. By his aſſiſtance and
" the alacrity of Mr. Brookes, who was determined
" not to reſt till the affair was ended to my ſatisfac-
" tion, an order of the admiralty was obtained to the
" ſecretary of the India company, to whom they had
" all been ſent, that I might make a ſearch for them,
" and thoſe which I ſhould ſeparate were to be ſent
" to the admiralty. This order met with ſuch a
" punctual compliance, that it was executed the very
" day of its date.

" The preſident of the Royal Society, for whom
" all the lords of the admiralty entertained an eſteem
" ſuitable to his great merit, was again pleaſed to in-
" tereſt himſelf in favour of my papers; and in re-
" gard to his ſollicitations, the examination of them
" was referred to him. This gentleman, who poſ-
" ſeſſed in the higheſt degree all the ſocial and intel-
" lectual qualities, affability without artifice, a
" genius which nothing could eſcape, and an amiable
" deportment, and generous manners, had from my
" firſt arrival ſhewn me an inceſſant kindneſs: he in-
" troduced me to the meetings of the ſociety, and
" to him I owe the acquaintance of many perſons of
" diſtinction, and the marks of friendſhip I received
" from them. He condeſcended to carry me to the
" moſt famous muſeums, places affording the higheſt
" delight to a rational mind, and where all nature is
" collected into a living hiſtory of the ſeveral pr

" ducts of the waters and earth, both in the mineral, " vegetable, and animal kingdoms. He likewiſe " brought me acquainted with the moſt famous lite- " rati, and was my conſtant guide. In a word, he " carried his friendſhip to me very far beyond what I " could have expected, had I even entertained a much " higher opinion of my own abilities.

" Actions like theſe convinced me of the ſincerity " of the Engliſh, their benevolence, and diſintereſt- " ed complaiſance. I obſerved the tempers, cuſtoms, " government, and police of this praiſe-worthy na- " tion, which in its œconomical conduct, and ſocial " virtues, may be a pattern to all the reſt of man- " kind.

" Mr. Folkes, having gone through my papers, " made his report to the admiralty, couched in ſuch " favourable terms, that the board gave him leave, " according to his deſire, to deliver them up to me, " which he accordingly did on the 15th of May. But " as a more illuſtrious teſtimony of the great eſteem " with which he honoured me, he propoſed to Earl " Stanhope, and ſeveral other gentlemen of the Royal " Society, that I might be admitted a member of " that learned body; rightly judging that ſuch an " honour could not fail of adding an ardour to my " deſire of contributing to the improvement of the " ſciences."

Don Ulloa, having thus obtained his papers, together with his liberty, which had been granted at his firſt ſollicitation, embarked at Falmouth in the Liſbon packet-boat, and reached Madrid on the 26th of July, 1746. Soon after his arrival, the king of Spain ordered the papers of Don Ulloa to be publiſhed under his patronage; and from thoſe authentic memoirs, the foregoing account of this celebrated voyage is extracted.

REMARKS

REMARKS ON THE TRADE BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE WEST INDIES.

IT has been always the ruling maxim in the Spaniſh councils to preſerve by all means poſſible the commerce with the Weſt Indies, not only to the Spaniſh nation, but to the crown of Spain. On this principle they reſtrain, with great punctuality, all ſtrangers from paſſing into their American dominions; and though there have been formerly ſome inſtances of foreigners paſſing through the Spaniſh ſettlements, and even reſiding in them, yet they are very rare. It is true, that of late years the Spaniards have found themſelves in ſome manner obliged to relax in this point, eſpecially during the long controverſy about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, when they laboured under a neceſſity of being protected by the French fleets. But as ſoon as Philip V. was acknowledged by the maritime powers for king of Spain, they returned immediately to their old notions; and orders were diſpatched to the Weſt Indies to compel the French, who were ſettled there, to return into Europe, and to break off all commerce with them for the future, which in the South ſeas at leaſt were punctually obeyed.

The method in which trade is carried on there is well enough known in general, but few enter far enough into its particulars. In order to give as diſtinct an account of this matter as poſſible, we ſhall ſpeak of the galleons, the flota, the flotilla, regiſterſhips, and guarda coſtas; and when we have done this,

this, the reader will perfectly comprehend the myſtery of the Spaniſh policy in this point.

A galleon is, properly ſpeaking, a very large man of war, of three or four decks, built in a manner now altogether out of faſhion, except in Spain; and the reaſon why it is ſtill uſed there, is, that it affords a great deal of room for merchandize, with which the king's ſhips are generally ſo much crouded, as to be in no condition of defending themſelves. That fleet which we call the galleons, conſiſts of eight ſuch men of war. Of theſe there are three very large ones, each of fifty guns, and an advice frigate of forty. The merchant-men which ſail with this fleet, and purchaſe their licences at a very high rate, are in number from twelve to ſixteen, and in burthen at leaſt a third part bigger than is expreſſed in their reſpective ſchedules. Theſe ſhips are intended to carry all that is neceſſary, either of warlike ſtores, or merchandize for Peru: and this is the ſpecific difference between this fleet and the flota, which is intended for Mexico. In time of peace, the galleons ſail regularly once a year from Cadiz, at no ſet time, but according to the king's pleaſure, and the convenience of the merchants. From Cadiz the galleons ſteer directly for the Canaries, where, if the flota ſails with them, as it ſometimes does, they anchor together in the haven of Gomera. Thence they bear away for the Antilles, and when they arrive at that height, the flota ſeparates, and the galleons bear away for Carthagena. As ſoon as they double Cape de la Vela, and appear before the mouth of Rio de la Hacha, advice is ſent to all parts, that every thing may be got ready for their reception. In the harbour of Carthagena they remain a month, and land there all the goods deſigned for the audience of the Terra Firma. Then they ſail to Porto Bello, where they continue during the fair, which laſts five or ſix weeks; and having landed the merchandize intended for Peru, and received the eaſure and rich commodities ſent from thence on board,

board, they ſail again to Carthagena, where they remain till they return to Spain, which is uſually within the ſpace of two years. When they have orders to return, they ſail firſt to the Havanna, and having there joined the flota, and what other ſhips are returning to Europe, they thence continue their voyage to Cadiz.

The flota conſiſts, as well as the galleons, of a certain number of men of war, and of a certain number of merchants ſhips. The former are ſeldom more than three; the latter are uſually about ſixteen, in burthen between five hundred and a thouſand tons. This fleet ſails about the month of Auguſt, that by the favour of the winds which reign about November, they may the more eaſily purſue their voyage to La Vera Cruz. In their paſſage they call at Puerto Rico, to take in freſh water and proviſions, then paſs in ſight of Hiſpaniola, Jamaica, and Cuba; and, according to the ſeaſon of the year, and the nature of the winds, paſs either by the coaſt of Jucatan, or higher through the gulph, to La Vera Cruz, which lies at the bottom of it. As the flota is deſigned to furniſh not only Mexico, but the Philippine iſlands alſo, with European goods, they are obliged to remain there for a conſiderable ſpace; and, when it is neceſſary, they winter in that port. The cargo with which they return, is not ſo rich as that of the galleons; but ſome writers ſay, that it increaſes annually in its value, which muſt be owing to the progreſs made in ſettling what the Spaniards call the kingdom of New Mexico.

It is uſually in the month of May that the flota leaves La Vera Cruz, though ſometimes it is detained in that harbour till Auguſt. Then the ſhips of compoſe it, ſail for the Havanna. As ſoon as t are ſafely arrived in the Havanna, they detach a of the lighteſt and clean [illegible] Europe; beſide money and mere [illegible] alſo an account of the contents [illegible]

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Theſe

the world, and of which it is neceſſary to ſpeak more particularly. It cannot be denied that there were originally good grounds for equipping them; ſince the Engliſh in ſome meaſure, and the Dutch more openly, began to carry on an illicit trade by force. The Dutch veſſels were from twenty to thirty-ſix guns, and therefore valued nothing the governor of Carthagena could do, to prevent their trading on his coaſt: but when the guard-ſhips were ſtationed there, they for ſome time put an end to the evil; for, falling in with ſome of theſe interlopers, they ſunk one, and took two, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of a hundred thouſand pounds. Nay, finding on board them ſixteen Spaniſh merchants, who on a ſignal given were come off to trade, they hanged them all without mercy. So far all was right; for, without queſtion, theſe ſmugglers not only prejudiced the king of Spain, but even the fair traders of their own nations, by the clandeſtine commerce they carried on, as the reader will eaſily apprehend. The captains of theſe guard-ſhips, however, ſoon altered their conduct, and inſtead of taking contraband traders, infeſted the Engliſh commerce, and took without diſtinction all they were able to maſter; at firſt under very frivolous pretences, and at laſt without any pretence at all. But to return from their piratical guarda-coſtas, to ſpeak of their ſinking trade; it will appear that, with the richeſt territories, the Spaniſh monarch is one of the pooreſt, as well as proudeſt princes in Chriſtendom. A paradox not difficult to explain.

There is nothing more common than to hear Spain compared to a ſieve, which, whatever it receives, is never the fuller. How common ſoever the compariſon may be, moſt certainly it is a very true one; but the means by which all this immenſe wealth, or at leaſt the far greateſt part of it, is drawn from the Spaniards, and conveyed to other nations, and in what proportions, is neither ſo well, nor ſo generally underſtood. To account for this ſhall be our preſent taſk.

If after the diſcovery of the new world, as the Spaniards juſtly enough called it, the government had encouraged trade or manufactories, there is great probability that the ſupreme direction of the affairs of Europe would have fallen into the hands of the catholic kings. For, if all the ſubjects of Spain, without reſtraint, had traded to theſe far diſtant regions, this muſt have created ſuch a maritime force, as no other nation could have withſtood: or, ſuppoſing the trade had been reſtrained as it is at preſent, yet, if manufactures had been encouraged, ſo as that the greateſt part of the trade of the Weſt Indies had been driven, without having recourſe to foreigners, ſuch prodigious ſums of money muſt have reſted in Spain, as would have enabled its monarchs to have given law to all their neighbours. But, by neglecting theſe obvious, and yet certain rules for eſtabliſhing ſolid and extenſive at leaſt, if not univerſal dominion; her kings had recourſe to thoſe refinements in policy, which, however excellent they may ſeem in theory, have never yet been found to anſwer in practice. They were for fixing their commerce by conſtraint, and for eſtabliſhing power by the ſword: the firſt, experience has ſhewn to be impracticable; and the latter, perhaps, was the only method whereby they could have miſſed that end they uſed it to obtain.

Yet the princes that took theſe ſteps were not either raſh and haſty, or voluptuous and profuſe; but, on the contrary, were eſteemed by all the world the wiſeſt monarchs of their reſpective times, and, in many things, deſerved to be ſo eſteemed. They erred, not through want of capacity, or want of application, as their ſucceſſors did, but for want of conſidering things in a right light, occaſioned purely by their fixing their eyes on that dazzling meteor, univerſal empire: and, however wiſe, however penetrating theſe princes might be, they certainly overſhot themſelves in their ſchemes concerning the Weſtern Indies. Inſtead of looking upon it as an eſtate, they ſeemed to think it

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that the United Provinces not only made themſelves free and independent, but rich and powerful alſo, by their long war with Spain. Our maritime power was owing to the ſame cauſe. If Philip II. had not diſturbed Queen Elizabeth, our fleet might have been as inconſiderable at the cloſe of her reign as it was at the beginning, when we were peſtered with pirates even in the narrow ſeas. Our plantations abroad were in a great meaſure owing to expeditions againſt the Spaniards: and our manufactures at home were the conſequence of affording refuge to the king of Spain's Proteſtant ſubjects.

By ſo long a ſeries of miſmanagement the Spaniards have brought their affairs into ſo wretched a ſituation, that they neither have, nor can have any very great benefit from their vaſt dominions in America. They are ſaid to be ſtewards for the reſt of Europe; their galleons bring ſilver into Spain, but neither wiſdom nor power can keep it there: it runs out faſter than it comes in, inſomuch that the little canton of Bern is really richer, and has more credit, than the king of Spain, notwithſtanding his Indies. At firſt ſight this ſeems to be ſtrange and incredible; but when we come to examine it, the myſtery is by no means impenetrable. The ſilver and rich commodities which come from the Indies, come not for nothing, (the king's duties excepted) and very little of the goods or manufactures for which they come, belong to the ſubjects of the crown of Spain. It is evident, therefore, that the Spaniſh merchants are but factors, and that the greateſt part of the returns from the Weſt Indies, belong to thoſe for whom they negotiate.

The very probity of the Spaniſh merchants is deſtructive to their country; for, as they are never known to betray their truſt, conſequently the foreigners who make uſe of their names to cover their commerce in the Indies, reap the intire advantage of the high price at which their goods ſell. All then that reſts in Spain is the ſilver and gold on the king's ac-

only a farm, of which they were to make preſently the moſt they could.

All who are in any degree acquainted with the hiſtory of Europe, know, that for a long courſe of years Spain maintained wars in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and ſometimes in Ireland, which created a prodigious expence of treaſure and of troops; neither of which, from the death of Charles V. they were in any condition to ſpare. As families were reduced by the expence of ſerving in the army, they were inclined to ſeek new fortunes in the Weſt Indies: and thus numbers went over thither, not to cultivate the country, or to improve trade, but to ſtrip and plunder thoſe who were there before them. Other great families again concurred with the meaſures of the crown, in hopes of viceroyalties, and other valuable offices in its conqueſts: but if ever their ſchemes were beneficial to their families, which may admit of doubt, certain it is that they contributed more and more to the ruin of the Spaniſh nation. For, though his catholic majeſty once poſſeſſed Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, with other territories in Italy, beſide all the Low Countries, and ſome other provinces which are now loſt; yet, for want of attending to commerce, and by having no ſort of oeconomy, all this turned to his prejudice; and it plainly appeared toward the cloſe of the laſt century, that with all their boaſted ſagacity and firmneſs, the Spaniards had ruined themſelves by acquiring too great power; and rendered themſelves beggars by miſuſing their immenſe riches. With ſwelling titles and wide dominions, they were deſpicably weak, and ſcarce any but copper money was to be ſeen in a country, which received above twenty millions annually from its plantations.

Before this topic is quitted, we muſt take notice of another thing, which is certainly very extraordinary. This wrong turn in the Spaniſh policy had a wonderful effect; it made all the enemies of that nation rich, and all its friends poor. Every body knows that

verſally odious and inſupportable. Sir John Narborough tells us, the ſoldiers in garriſon at Baldivia had ſilver hilted ſwords, and their officers gold ones; and yet there was not a whole coat, or a good pair of ſhoes amongſt the corps.

When people are in ſuch a ſituation, there need be no wonder at their endeavouring to carry on a clandeſtine trade; as, on the other hand, one cannot think it ſtrange that their neighbours, who live under better governments, who have at cheap rates all that theſe Spaniards want, and yet ſtand in need of the ſilver and gold with which they abound; ſhould be very willing to commence ſuch an intercourſe as might ſupply all their wants. Sometimes governors have winked at this, not from a principle of avarice only, that they might ſhare in the profits reſulting from ſuch a trade, but alſo from a ſenſe of the neceſſity of diſpenſing with laws ſo ill calculated as to deſerve no reſpect. For, to be ſure, that rule of juſtice, which connects the Spaniſh plantations to Spain, requires that the government of Spain ſhould have a reciprocal regard for thoſe plantations; and a neglect on one part infers a licence on the other. Upon this principle it was, that before the treaty of Utrecht, and the Aſſiento contract, the Engliſh at Jamaica furniſhed the Spaniards at Porto Bello with negroes, with the knowledge at leaſt, if not by the permiſſion of the governors. The inhabitants of Peru never could be without ſlaves. The government of Old Spain never could, indeed never attempted to ſupply them, but permitted ſometimes the Genoeſe, ſometimes the French, to carry on this trade: when they did not do it effectually, the deficiency was made good by ſuch a commerce as is before mentioned with the Engliſh, though without any formal licence, but by a connivance, the leſs criminal for its being abſolutely neceſſary.

The ſituation of the iſland of Jamaica, together with the conveniencies of building and freighting ſloops from thence, engaged the inhabitants in this,

and in other branches of traffic. Such as ſettle themſelves in theſe diſtant parts of the world, do it generally from a ſpirit of gain, and therefore the grand point with them is always how to get moſt. They therefore for a long track of time, and by various methods, not neceſſary to be inſiſted on here, ſupplied the Spaniards at Carthagena, Porto Bello, Rio de la Hacha, and other places, with European commodities of all ſorts; notwithſtanding the mighty hazard they ran in the management of ſo dangerous a buſineſs: their own lives, and thoſe of their cuſtomers, being alike expoſed, and frequently forfeited to what the Spaniards call juſtice. They likewiſe carried on a trade with the Indians of Darien, to their great profit, but with equal riſk, for the Spaniards were wont to ſhew no mercy either to Engliſh or Indians that fell into their hands.

It ſeems, however, to be our intereſt to put an end to this contraband trade, if thereby we could ſecure effectually the friendſhip of Spain, and a due return of kindneſs in what regards the trade of Cadiz, and of the South Sea company. There is a certain proportion of our goods and manufactures neceſſary to the inhabitants of the Spaniſh America, and which they will have ſome way or other. Now it is certainly preferable in reſpect to us, that they ſhould have them in a fair, than in a clandeſtine manner; yet we ought not to be more tied up in this reſpect than the Dutch, who have as flouriſhing a fair trade with Spain as we, and yet are much the greater ſmugglers of the two: which leads us to ſpeak of their manner of carrying on this trade, which turns ſo largely to their profit.

The Hollanders, in 1632, diſpoſſeſſed the Spaniards of three little iſlands off the coaſt of Venezuela, viz. Curaçao, Bonnaire, and Aruba. All together they are of very little conſequence in reſpect either to their extent or their product, and yet the Dutch draw from them an immenſe profit. Curaçao is not above ſeven leagues diſtant from the Spaniſh coaſt: a more

convenient

convenient ſtation cannot be wiſhed for carrying on a clandeſtine trade. It was firſt introduced by the ſale of negroes brought thither by the Dutch from their numerous ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea. Theſe the Spaniards formerly bought in a manner openly, and have tranſported in their own veſſels fifteen hundred at a time; but ſince the Engliſh from Jamaica have interfered in this trade, it is ſunk very conſiderably; though they ſtill ſupply the neighbouring provinces.

The dealers at Curaçao, and their correſpondents in Holland, were too knowing, too converſant in buſineſs, to let the declenſion of the ſlave-trade rob them of the benefit of this iſland. In order to replace what was loſt by the Engliſh interfering with them, they built vaſt magazines, and ſtored them with all ſorts of European goods, which had a very good effect. In the firſt place, it preſerved to them the remainder of their ſlave-trade; for the Spaniards knowing that this of all others was moſt winked at by their governors, reſolved to keep up a pretence of buying ſlaves, in order to have an opportunity of purchaſing other things. Secondly, it tempted the Spaniards to run all hazards, that they might, at a reaſonable price, obtain any ſort of European merchandize they wanted, and that too whenever they pleaſed. It is incredible what vaſt ſums have been annually traded for in this way. Beſide, the inhabitants of Curaçao, to keep up a good correſpondence with their neighbours, and, as far as poſſible, to fix their affections, refuſed to ſuffer any privateers to enter their ports, nor would upon any terms purchaſe their plunder; which at the ſame time was publickly ſold in Jamaica, where the privateers uſually ſpent their money. This ſpirit of ſelf-denial, however, did not hinder the traders of Curaçao from directing the privateers to put into the iſland of St. Thomas, whither they inſtantly ſent ſloops with money, and agents on board them to purchaſe what the privateers had to ſell, taking care to ſend the effects as ſoon as poſſible to Europe, that the

Spaniards might have no intelligence of this contrivance.

In proceſs of time, however, ſome merchants deviſed another way of carrying on the ſame kind of commerce, by ſhips ſent directly from Europe to the Spaniſh coaſts. Theſe veſſels were of ſuch force, that thoſe on board them ſtood in no fear of any precautions the governors could take; and, on the other hand, as their cargoes paſſed immediately from their original owners to the Spaniards, they could be afforded conſiderably cheaper than ſuch as were conſigned to factors in America. The method of trading was by a ſignal from the ſhips, or from the ſhore. The long-boat was then ſent off well manned, brought the merchants on board with their money, and carried them back with their goods. Thoſe on board them chuſe rather to ſink than be taken; a very extraordinary kind of courage; for which, however, it is not impoſſible to account; and it may be uſeful, as well as pleaſant, to enter into the particulars thereof.

At the time one of theſe ſhips is fitting out, notice is given to all ſailors, that they may have an opportunity of entering, which they do with great alacrity, there being, generally ſpeaking, twice as many who offer themſelves as can be made uſe of. When the proprietors have their complement of picked ſeamen, they not only allow every man his proper cargo, to a certain value, but alſo furniſh it themſelves on credit at prime coſt. By this means every private man on board becomes a proprietor; and, if the ſhip is attacked, fights for his own property: which is the reaſon that he will drown rather than part with it, and is one cauſe why guarda-coſtas are not over fond of meeting with theſe veſſels, but chooſe rather to prey on fair traders, who have fewer men, and are of leſs force.

The little iſland of St. Thomas, which lies in the North ſeas, about fourteen leagues off Porto Rico, is the ſole colony poſſeſſed by the Danes in the Weſt Indies;

Indies; nor would it be worth the keeping, but as it alſo ſerves to maintain an illicit trade with the Spaniſh iſlands in its neighbourhood. In order to maintain this correſpondence, they tranſport from the Daniſh colonies in Africa a conſiderable number of ſlaves for the ſupply of Porto Rico, and of St. Domingo. Under colour of this trade, a commerce in European goods is carried on; and we may eaſily diſcern how hard the Spaniards are put to it for the neceſſaries, or at leaſt the conveniencies of life, when we find them trading to a place which is a free port to privateers and pirates of all nations; who there vend openly, and in the very ſight of the Spaniards, what is taken from them in the baſeſt and moſt barbarous manner poſſible: and yet ſo tame are they, that they not only bear this with patience, but will even purchaſe commodities from theſe very buccaneers. Of late years other nations have made an advantage of this free port, and keep warehouſes there of all ſorts of commodities, for the ſervice of ſuch cuſtomers as will run the hazard of coming at them; and in time of war the privateers never want a market in this place.

The Portugueze at Rio Janeiro maintain alſo a very beneficial correſpondence with their Spaniſh neighbours. The goods with which they ſupply them, are ſugars, indigo, tobacco, wines, brandies, and rums, with ſome European goods, and ſometimes ſlaves. The inhabitants of this colony are far more induſtrious than the reſt of the Brazil planters; and this gives them an opportunity of gaining conſiderably by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and other places on the river Plata. Of late years the Spaniards are grown exceſſively jealous of this colony.

Beſide theſe methods of trading, which we have hitherto ſpoken of, there is another common to all nations; with the mention of which we ſhall conclude. Ships frequently approach the Spaniſh coaſts under pretence of wanting water, wood, proviſions,

or more commonly, in order to ſtop a leak. The firſt thing that is done in ſuch a caſe, is to give notice to the governor of their great diſtreſs, and, as a full proof thereof, to ſend a very conſiderable preſent. By this means leave is obtained to come on ſhore, to erect a warehouſe, and to unlade the ſhip: but then all this is performed under the eye of the king's officers, and the goods are regularly entered in a regiſter as they are brought into the warehouſe, which when full, is ſhut up, and the doors ſealed. All theſe precautions taken, the buſineſs is effectually carried on in the night by a back-door; and the European goods being taken out, indigo, cochineal, vinellos, tobacco, and above all, bars of ſilver and pieces of eight are very exactly packed in the ſame caſes, and placed as they ſtood before. But then, that ſuch as have bought may be able to ſell publickly, a new ſcheme takes place. A petition is preſented to the governor, ſetting forth the ſtrangers want of money to pay for proviſions, building the warehouſe, timber for repairing the ſhip, and a proportionable number of ſuch like items; in conſideration of all which, leave is deſired to diſpoſe of ſome ſmall part of their cargo, in order to diſcharge theſe debts. This being obtained in the uſual manner, ſomething of each ſort of goods which had been privately ſold, is now publickly brought to market, and purchaſed by thoſe perſons reſpectively, who had larger quantities in their warehouſes before. Thus the whole of this ſcene of iniquity is tranſacted with all the formal ſolemnity which could attend an act of juſtice and compaſſion.

SOME

PARTICULARS

RELATING TO

The Inhabitants of Patagonia.

THE late voyages to the South Seas having engaged the attention of the public, we have inſerted the following particulars from a pamphlet ſaid to be wrote by an officer on board the Dolphin. The principal object worthy of general notice in this voyage, as publiſhed, is a confirmation of the account formerly given by Magellan, of a gigantic people inhabiting the coaſt of Patagonia: but with regard to its authenticity, time muſt determine.

Paſſing over what the writer gives of the other parts of his voyage, which contain nothing ne wor entertaining, we ſhall obſerve, that according to his account, when they left Rio de Janeiro, and the coaſt of Braſil, on the 20th of October, 1764, bound, as they thought, for the Cape of Good Hope; a ſignal was made for the commander of the Tamer frigate to come on board, where he and the ſhip's company were informed, that the commodore's orders were to go on diſcoveries into the South Sea: a circumſtance which, from the manner in which it was received, furniſhes the greateſt reaſon to believe, that no one on board had before the leaſt notion of the voyage in which they were now engaged. But to prevent the appearance of diſcontent, they were at the ſame time acquainted with the intention of the government to allow them double pay, for their encouragement in the proſecution of the voyage.

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far from affording good anchorage; for as it principally conſiſts of light ſand, it is not to be depended upon; and if one anchor ſhould ſtart, while the tide is ruſhing in, the ſhip would immediately take the ſhore, before the other anchors could poſſibly bring her up. However, it may be fairly conjectured, that there is firmer anchorage farther up the harbour, eſpecially for a ſhip that requires only a ſmall draught of water.

He obſerves that the country all around is interſperſed with high craggy rocks, but between each precipice the ground is covered with coarſe graſs. The vallies form a barren comfortleſs proſpect, in which there was nothing to entertain the ſight, but great numbers of wild beaſts and birds, and many large heaps of bones that lie ſcattered about, eſpecially by the ſide of every ſtream of water. But they ſaw not the leaſt ſign of the human ſpecies.

Though they found two or three ſprings on the ſhore near the harbour, their mineral qualities unfortunately prevented their being of any uſe in ſupplying the ſhip with water; and they could not even find a quantity ſufficient for preſent uſe.

On the ſouth ſhore the rocks are not ſo numerous as on the north ſide; and there are more hills and deep vallies, but they are covered only by high graſs, and a few ſmall ſhrubs. Hence this is but a bad place to touch at, by any ſhip that is under the neceſſity of wooding and watering. The commodore, in order to clear the ground of the overgrown graſs, which grew in great quantities, and alſo to improve the ſoil, which appeared to be of a barren ſandy nature, gave orders for the graſs to be ſet on fire in different places; which was no ſooner done, than the flames ran ſo faſt, that in leſs than half an hour they ſpread ſeveral miles round. Before their departure they ſunk two caſks, one of them on the north ſhore from the place of anchorage, a-breaſt of the rock, which is in the form of a tower. The other caſk was ſunk on

Nothing worthy of obſervation happened till the 27th of November, when after many hard gales of wind they made Cape Blanco, near the river Cæmarories, in the latitude of 46° 50′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 72° 7′ weſt from London. After a few days ſail they made Pengwin iſland, about three or four leagues to the ſouthward of the harbour of Port Deſire, which lies in the latitude of 47° 50′ ſouth. At this place they had very indifferent weather, attended with frequent ſhowers of rain, and therefore ſent their boats to ſound the harbour, which returned the ſame evening. The next day they weighed in order to enter it; but found it very rocky at its entrance, and not above a quarter of a mile over from ſide to ſide. Here they met with ſuch a ſudden and violent ſtorm, that both thoſe in the boats and thoſe on board had no reaſon to expect ever getting off, as both the wind and tide were againſt them; but that they ſhould be obliged to live, or perhaps to periſh on this deſart coaſt of Patagonia, ſeveral hundred leagues to the ſouthward of any European ſettlement: but at length, their twelve-oared barge providentially drove into the harbour, by which means the ſhip was preſerved; for without this aſſiſtance ſhe muſt have periſhed, they having no boat to carry out an anchor.

During their ſtay here, ſome of the men were employed in repairing the ſhip's rigging, while others went aſhore in ſearch of freſh water, though without ſucceſs, as there was but little to be found.

The harbour itſelf is not much more than half a mile over. On the ſouth ſhore is a remarkable rock in the form of a tower, which appears on entering the harbour's mouth. A-breaſt of this rock they lay at anchor, in ſeven or eight fathoms water, moored to the eaſt and weſt, with both bowers, which was found extreamly neceſſary, on account of the ſtrong tide that regularly ebbs and flows every twelve hours. It is alſo neceſſary to obſerve, that the ground was far

next morning they weighed, and making ſail, at ſix the extreams of Terra del Fuego appeared, extending from the ſouth-eaſt by ſouth, to the ſouth-weſt by ſouth, at four or five leagues diſtance. At eight they diſcovered a good deal of ſmoke iſſuing from different quarters, and, on a nearer approach, could plainly perceive a number of people on horſeback. At ten they anchored in 14 fathoms on the north ſhore, and ſaw Cape Virgin Mary, which appeared over the low neck of land to the eaſt north-eaſt, and Point Poſſeſſion to the weſt by ſouth. Being about a mile from the land, they no ſooner came to an anchor, than the people on ſhore hollowed to them, and moved their hands; on which they immediately hoiſted out their boats, manned and armed.

On approaching the coaſt, evident ſigns of fear appeared among thoſe in the boat, on ſeeing men of ſuch enormous ſize; while ſome, perhaps to encourage the reſt, obſerved, that thoſe gigantic people were as much ſurpriſed at the ſight of their muſkets. This, however, ſerved to remind them, that fire arms gave them an advantage much ſuperior to that derived from ſtature and perſonal ſtrength. When they had rowed within 20 yards of the ſhore, they lay on their oars, and obſerved that great numbers of them ſurrounded the beach, and by their countenances ſeemed eagerly deſirous of having them land. After the moſt amicable ſigns which theſe people were capable of underſtanding, or the boat's crews of giving, a ſignal was made to them to retire backward; and then the commodore and chief officers entered upon a ſhort conſultation on the propriety of landing. The firſt officer, fired with the thoughts of making a full diſcovery in regard to theſe Indians, who had been ſo much the ſubject of converſation among the Engliſh, made a motion to approach nearer and jump on ſhore; but the commodore objected to it, and would not ſuffer any man to go before himſelf.

As ſoon as the Indians had retreated from the beach, which they had ſurrounded in ſuch a manner, as to prevent any perſon's landing, the commodore, with great intrepidity, leaped on ſhore, followed by his officers and men, whom he drew up in a poſture of defence. Immediately on landing the inhabitants came about them, to the number of two hundred or more, looking with evident marks of ſurprize, and ſmiling, as it ſhould ſeem, at the great diſproportion of their ſtature.

After many amicable ſigns, which appeared equally agreeable to both parties, the commodore, who had taken with him on ſhore a great number of trinkets, ſuch as ſtrings of beads, ribbons, and the like, diſtributed them with great freedom, as far as they went. The method he made uſe of to facilitate the diſtribution of them, was by making the Indians ſit down on the ground, that he might put the ſtrings of beads, &c. round their necks; and ſuch was their extraordinary ſize, that in this ſituation they were almoſt as high as the commodore when ſtanding.

They were ſo delighted with the different trinkets, which hung round their necks, and fell down before on their boſoms, that the commodore could ſcarcely reſtrain them from careſſing him, particularly the women; whoſe large and maſculine features correſponded with the enormous ſize of their bodies. Their middle ſtature ſeemed to be above eight feet; their extream nine and upward. Their cloathing conſiſted of the ſkins of guanacoes, or Peruvian ſheep, which reached from their ſhoulders down to their knees; and their hair was long and black, hanging down behind. The faces of the women were painted moſt extravagantly, and their ſtature equally ſurpriſing with that of the men. Their infants in the mother's arms, conſidering their age, bore the ſame proportion on their features. Some of their women had collars on their necks, and bracelets on their arms; but from whence they could procure them was a ſub-

ject of wonder, as from their great amazement at firſt ſight, it was conjectured, that they had never beheld any civilized beings before. It may, however, be concluded from the accounts of Sir John Narborough, and others, who have taken notice of theſe Indians, that they doubtleſs change their ſituation with the ſun, ſpending the ſummer here, and in winter removing farther to the north, in order to enjoy the benefit of a milder climate. Hence Sir John and others have related, that they ſaw men of an uncommon ſize, at leaſt eight or ten degrees more to the northward; whence it may reaſonably be conjectured, that during one part of the year, they may have ſome intercourſe with the Indians, who border on ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements, and that from them they might have purchaſed theſe ornaments.

Their language appeared to be nothing more than a confuſed jargon, without any mixture of the Spaniſh or Portugueſe, the only European tongues of which it was poſſible for them to obtain any knowlege; and with which it is probable it would have been mixed, had they any immediate intercourſe with the Spaniards or Portugueſe of South America. Theſe people frequently looked toward the ſun with an air of adoration, and made motions with their fingers to communicate their minds. They appeared to be of a friendly diſpoſition, and ſeemed to live in great unanimity amongſt themſelves. After the commodore and his men had been with them a ſhort time, they made ſigns for them to go to the ſmoke which they ſaw at a diſtance, and at the ſame time pointed to their mouths, as if they intended to give them ſome refreſhment: but their number being at preſent greatly ſuperior, and it being not improbable that ſtill greater multitudes might come upon them unawares from the inland country, the commodore, who was equally remarkable for his prudence and his bravery, thought it not adviſeable to venture any farther from the water-ſide.

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with men and arms, as a ſecurity, in caſe there ſhould be any attempt to ſurpriſe or injure him, or any of thoſe who went with him; though the people on ſhore did not ſeem to have any thing like an offenſive weapon among them.

On the commodore's landing, in company with his lieutenant, he made ſigns to the Indians, who were crouding round him, to retire, which they very readily did, to the diſtance of 30 or 40 yards. He then, attended by his lieutenant, advanced toward them about 20 yards; and their number was ſoon encreaſed to upward of 500 men, women and children. Several civilities at this time paſſed on both ſides, the Indians expreſſing their joy and ſatisfaction by ſinging uncouth ſongs, ſhaking hands, and ſitting with looks of pleaſure, with their wives and children round the commodore, who diſtributed among them ribbons and ſtrings of beads, with which they appeared extreamly delighted. He tied necklaces round the necks of ſeveral of the women, who ſeemed to be from ſeven and a half to eight feet high; but the men were for the moſt part about nine feet in height, and ſome more. The commodore himſelf meaſures full ſix feet, and though he ſtood on tip-toe, he could but juſt reach the crown of one of the Indians heads, who was not, by far, the talleſt among them. The men are well made, broad ſet, and of prodigious ſtrength, of a copper-colour, with long black hair; and were cloathed with ſkins, which were faſtened about their necks by a thong; the ſkins worn by the men being looſe, but the women's girt cloſe with a kind of belt. Many of the men and women rode on horſes, which were about fifteen hands and a half high, all of them aſtride; and they had among them ſome dogs, which had ſharp noſes like foxes; and were nearly of the ſize of a middling pointer.

Theſe friendly people invited the commodore, and all thoſe who were landed, to go with them up the country, ſhewing a diſtant ſmoke, and pointing

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their mouths, as if they intended to give them a repaſt; and in return, the commodore invited the Indians to come on board, by pointing to his ſhip; but neither of them accepted of the others invitation: and therefore having paſſed two hours in an agreeable converſation, carried on wholly by ſigns, they parted with all the marks of friendſhip.

The country all around is ſandy; but diverſified with ſmall hills, covered with a ſhort coarſe graſs, and with ſhrubs, none of which, as Sir John Narborough has long before remarked, is large enough to make the helve of a hatchet.

Another gentleman on board has given an account that exactly tallies with the above, with theſe additional circumſtances: That when they were 10 or 12 leagues within the ſtreights, they ſaw through their glaſſes many people on ſhore of a prodigious ſize; which extraordinary magnitude they thought to be a deception, occaſioned by the hazineſs of the air, it being then ſomewhat foggy; but on coming near the land they appeared of ſtill greater bulk, and made amicable ſigns to our people to come on ſhore. That when the ſhip ſailed on to find a proper place of landing, they made lamentations, as if they were afraid our people were going off, and would not land. He alſo ſays, there were near 400 of them, and about one third of the men were on horſes not much larger than ours; and that they rode with their knees up to the horſe's withers, having no ſtirrups. That there were women, and many children, whom ſome of our people took in their arms and kiſſed, which the Indians beheld with much ſeeming ſatisfaction. That by way of affection and eſteem, they took his hand between theirs, and patted it; and that ſome of thoſe he ſaw were ten feet high, well proportioned and well featured; their ſkins of a copper-colour, and they had neither offenſive nor defenſive weapons. He alſo ſays, that they ſeemed particularly pleaſed with

with lieutenant Cummins, on account of his ſtature, he being ſix feet two inches high, and that ſome of them patted him on the ſhoulder, but their hands fell with ſuch force, that it affected his whole frame.

In fine, another officer of the ſquadron, who is affirmed to have communicated an account of theſe extraordinary people to the Royal Society, in a paper which that learned body is ſaid to have reſerved for publication, gives the ſame account, with theſe additional circumſtances: that they all appeared to be very ſagacious, eaſily underſtood the ſignals or intimations which our people made to them, and behaved with great complacency and good nature.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

their mouths, as if they intended to give them a repaſt; and in return, the commodore invited the Indians to come on board, by pointing to his ſhip; but neither of them accepted of the others invitation: and therefore having paſſed two hours in an agreeable converſation, carried on wholly by ſigns, they parted with all the marks of friendſhip.

The country all around is ſandy; but diverſified with ſmall hills, covered with a ſhort coarſe graſs, and with ſhrubs, none of which, as Sir John Narborough has long before remarked, is large enough to make the helve of a hatchet.

Another gentleman on board has given an account that exactly tallies with the above, with theſe additional circumſtances: That when they were 10 or 12 leagues within the ſtreights, they ſaw through their glaſſes many people on ſhore of a prodigious ſize; which extraordinary magnitude they thought to be a deception, occaſioned by the hazineſs of the air, it being then ſomewhat foggy; but on coming near the land they appeared of ſtill greater bulk, and made amicable ſigns to our people to come on ſhore. That when the ſhip ſailed on to find a proper place of landing, they made lamentations, as if they were afraid our people were going off, and would not land. He alſo ſays, there were near 400 of them, and about one third of the men were on horſes not much larger than ours; and that they rode with their knees up to the horſe's withers, having no ſtirrups. That there were women, and many children, whom ſome of our people took in their arms and kiſſed, which the Indians beheld with much ſeeming ſatisfaction. That by way of affection and eſteem, they took his hand between theirs, and patted it; and that ſome of thoſe he ſaw were ten feet high, well proportioned and well featured; their ſkins of a copper-colour, and they had neither offenſive nor defenſive weapons. He alſo ſays, that they ſeemed particularly pleaſed

with

with lieutenant Cummins, on account of his ſtature, he being ſix feet two inches high, and that ſome of them patted him on the ſhoulder, but their hands fell with ſuch force, that it affected his whole frame.

In fine, another officer of the ſquadron, who is affirmed to have communicated an account of theſe extraordinary people to the Royal Society, in a paper which that learned body is ſaid to have reſerved for publication, gives the ſame account, with theſe additional circumſtances: that they all appeared to be very ſagacious, eaſily underſtood the ſignals or intimations which our people made to them, and behaved with great complacency and good nature.

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ERRATA, in the INTRODUCTION.

In the Table of the Planets, p. 10, for *days* and *hours*, in the diurnal rotations of Mars and Jupiter, read *hours* and *minutes*.

P. 15, l. 10 from the bottom, for *rarification*, read *rarefaction*.





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